UR QUAID-I-AZAM

M. S. TOOSY

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OUR QUAID-I-AZAM

THE STORY OF HIS LIFE AND MISSION

BY

MUHAMMAD SHARIF TOOSY

Author of

Nationalism in Conflict in India,
Pakistan and Muslim India

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INTRODUCTION

Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah has immortalised his name by creating the new Muslim State of Pakistan. Nobody could dream when the Lahore Resolution was passed by the All-India Muslim League in 1940 that Pakistan would be established so soon within the short space of 7 years. There were insuperable difficulties in the way. The Congress, the most powerful Hindu organisation of the subcontinent of India, was deadly opposed to the very idea of Pakistan. Among the Muslims, too, there was no unanimity of opinion in the pursuit of a common goal. The Jamiatul Ulema, a body of pro-Congress Muslim Ulema, and Congressite and Ahrar Muslims had openly chosen sides with the Congress. The Unionists in the Punjab and the Red Shirts in the Frontier Province had declared their sympathies for the Congress goal of a United India and did not spare a moment to think that the Hindu majority could never be expected to deal justly and generously with the Muslim minority. The British Government was all the time playing a waiting game. It did not favour the setting up of an independent Muslim State which should be strong enough to

defend itself against aggression without the British help and support. At the same time, it could not transfer all political power into the hands of the Congress as it feared opposition from the Muslim League. Quaid-i-Azam was fully alive to the difficulties confronting him. He had a prophetic faith in the achievement of his mission. He perceived clearly that the British Government was bound in the long run to recognise the Muslim demand for Pakistan. He struggled on with such singleness of purpose and tenacity of mind that his efforts were finally crowned with success. Though the British Government created many obstacles and problems for the new state by leaving Hyderabad and Kashmir issues undecided and by favouring India in the Radcliffe Award, yet it could not impede the progress of the new state by such underhand means. Undaunted and unfrightened, Quaid-i-Azam tided over all difficulties that came in his way. The refugee problem which concerned the future of 6 million Muslims, uprooted from their homes in the Eastern Punjab and other parts of India, was an unforeseen calamity. Quaid-i-Azam bore this shock with a cool and calm mind and set his mind on providing homes and means of livelihood for the distressed persons. It is one of the greatest miracles in the history of the world that a state created from nothingness, in

the space of a few years was able to show an all round progress and to claim a leading place in the Counsels of Nations. It is a living tribute to the memory of Quaid-i-Azam that the new Pakistani Nation is united in its determination to defend Pakistan against aggression from any quarter and is fully conscious of the role it has to play in shaping a new world.

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CHAPTER I

EARLY LIFE AND EDUCATION

Muhammad Ali Jinnah was born on Christmas day of the year 1876 in a Khoja family of Gujerat which had settled in Karachi. He was the first-born child of his parents and naturally there was great rejoicing in the family on the occasion. His father Jinnah Poonja was a rich merchant exporting hides and skins. He carried on business in partnership with his elder brother Valji Poonja. The two brothers belonged to a mercantile Khoja family of Rajkot, an important native State in Gujerat. By a strange coincidence, Mahatma Gandhi's father also lived in this State, where he held the post of Diwan under the Raja. With the object of expanding their business, Jinnah's father and uncle had, some years before his birth, shifted to Karachi. They lived in a house lying in a crowded part of the city with narrow lanes and by-lanes. It was no doubt a commodious house with broad, overhanging wooden balconies and verandahs and supported by huge wooden pillars. The house was a typical example of the architecture that existed at the time. The original house

is no longer traceable but the general character of the locality still remains unchanged.

Jinnah Poonja, the father of our beloved leader, was, like his son, of a tall and slim stature. His original name was Lalji Poonja but the people began to call him Jinnah Poonja as the word Jinnah in Gujerati means lean or thin. The son thus inherited his father's surname and the word Jinnah assumed far greater importance and popularity than the parental name, Muhammad Ali.

Jinnah was still a child when he had to part from his parents. He was sent to Bombay to attend Gokal Das Tej Primary School. This early separation from parents had its own difficulties for the small child. But he did not show any slackening in education and remained happy and cheerful. His wonderful retentive memory soon convinced his teachers that he was meant for greater things and when he left the school, he was highly spoken of. Another wonderful trait in his character which the child developed at this stage was the habit of stern independence and self-reliance. The child learnt that he had to depend upon his own efforts and to think for himself in a place far away from his parental home. It was this early school training which enabled young Jinnah to discover that life was a continuous struggle for existence and

that the object in sending him away far from his family home in Karachi was to secure for him the benefits of a good primary education.

A few years after, he was brought back to Karachi and sent to Sindh Madrassah where he completed his education up to Middle standard. He retained throughout his reputation for a retentive memory and being of a reserved nature, he could devote himself exclusively to studies. He shunned bad company, particularly of the class-fellows who were idlers, nor he indulged in mischief of any kind to which students are generally accustomed.

As Sindh Madrassah had no high classes in English, young Jinnah was admitted to a Mission High School where he passed the Matriculation Examination of the Bombay University. His father received favourable reports about his progress at school. Sir Fredrick Craft, a leading merchant of Karachi and a close friend of his father, soon discovered that the bright schoolboy would one day rise to an eminent position by virtue of his high ability. He advised young Jinnah's father to send the boy to England for studies in law as he wanted to see him a successful barrister with a flourishing practice. His advice was accepted and the family decided to choose for him a legal career.

But for his advice, Jinnah would have been a rich business-man, a prince among traders and a leading figure in upper class society. But Muslims would have lost their greatest leader of the present times and their goal of Pakistan might have been indefinitely delayed. Nature, however, planned otherwise. Young Jinnah was destined to shape the future of a regenerated nation.

In 1892, at the age of 16, young Jinnah embarked on ship from Karachi on his voyage to England. He was humorously described by some of his fellow students as the "tall, thin boy in a funny, long, yellow coat." He was admitted to Lincoln's Inn, and was finally called to Bar. There is a funny story about his interest in studies for law in England. His Private Secretary, Mr. M. H. Syyed thus narrates it : "I asked him once about the syllabus of studies for the Bar in England at the time. He said jokingly that it was no more difficult than to give a number of dinners, some twenty-two of them, in honour of some big members of the Inn or other lawyers of eminence." He went through the curriculum with distinction.

Mr. Jinnah stayed for four years in England. This was a very eventful period in his life. He enlisted himself as member of a Shakespearian Dramatic Club. He took keen interest in dramatic

performances. As an actor, he took part in some of the plays of the great English poet and dramatist and won appreciation from the audience. He, in fact, became such an admirer of Shakespeare that he quoted him repeatedly in his speeches and writings. An instance of the deep influence of Shakespeare on him is furnished by his famous letter addressed in reply to Mr. Gandhi's. The latter had asked him as to what suitable prefix he should use with his name. He wanted to enquire as to whether he should address him as Mr. Jinnah or Janab Jinnah or Jinnah Sahib. The reply he gave is still remembered by Muslim youth with a sense of pride.

" I thank you for your anxiety to respect my wishes in the matter of prefix you should use with my name. What is in a prefix after all ?—" A rose called by another name smells just as sweet" ! This reminds one of Shakespeare's drama, 'Romeo and Juliet.'

The experience gained by young Jinnah as an actor on the British stage made him a powerful speaker and debater. Apart from his interest in literary activities, Mr. Jinnah found an opportunity to associate himself with public life in England. He had heard much of Sir Dadabhoi Naoroji, the grand old man of India who had long

since settled in England and, as the founder and president of India Society in London, had profoundly influenced British public opinion in favour of India. A number of public spirited Englishmen who had listened to the speeches of this great Indian leader had begun to realise that India could no longer be held as an enslaved country and that its people deserved better treatment. Indian students then in England had all become members of India Society and whenever they had leisure, they worked as missionaries for the cause of this Society. Young Jinnah who had been attracted by the charming personality of the grand old man, could not help throwing in his lot with other students for the common cause. He deeply impressed the old man with his patriotic zeal and great energy. Dadabhoi Naoroji was convinced that with proper guidance this young student could be turned into the most zealous worker in the cause of India. He took him into confidence and began to evince a living interest in his public activities. Dadabhoi was then busy in his election campaign for the House of Commons. Young Jinnah willingly offered his services and conducted the campaign along with other Indian students with true patriotic zeal. This was a new experience in the life of a lad of 18 and he had to move from one end of the constituency to another

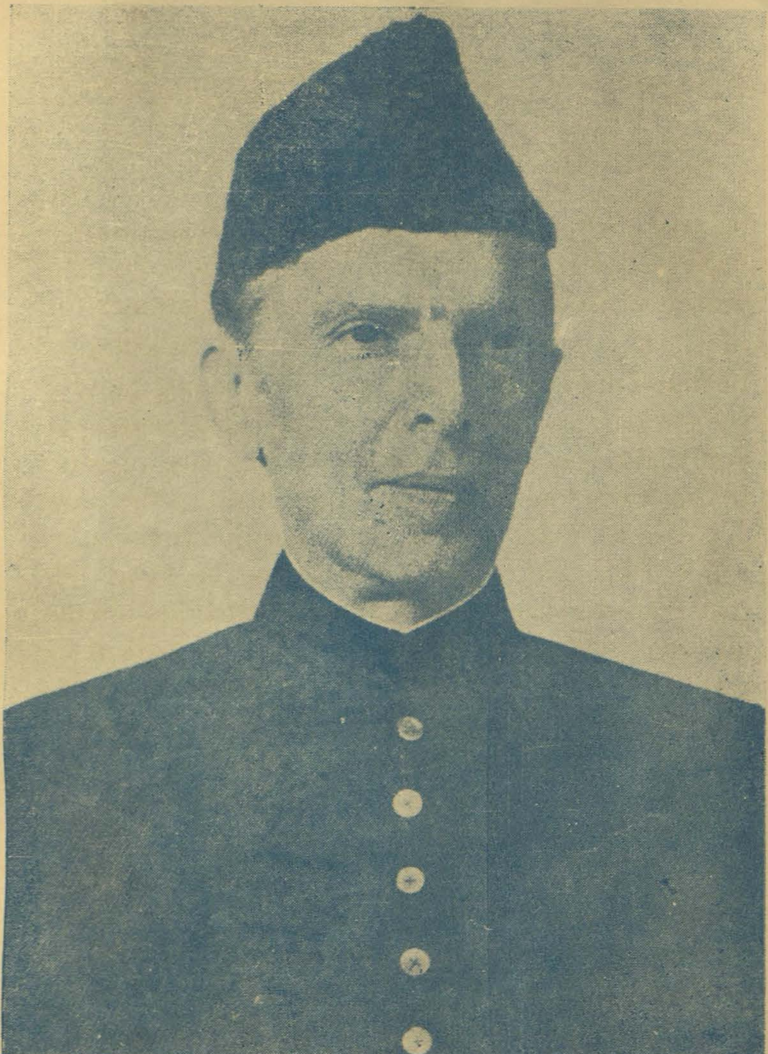
to canvass votes for Dadabhoi Naoroji. On some occasions he had to address election meetings and his strong powers of argument, and his command of the colloquial English, deeply impressed his listeners.

Chapter II

JINNAH AS A LAWYER

In 1896, at the age of 20, Mr. Jinnah sailed back to India. He started practice the following year at Karachi. But dark days were in store for him. His father, who had been a prosperous business-man in the past, had been losing heavily for some time. He was now facing a very serious financial crisis. He could no longer spare a penny to assist his son in setting himself up in the new profession. Mr. Jinnah was deeply anxious to relieve his father of distress but he soon felt that Karachi was too small a place for his talents and that he must have a wider field of work if he wanted to make his mark as a successful barrister. He, therefore, decided to leave for Bombay and he set out to conquer the world, equipped with nothing but his youth, his courage and his ambition.

He shifted to Bombay in 1897 to start practice at the High Court. He held very high hopes of a flourishing practice but he was soon disappointed to learn that Bombay offered him no better prospects than Karachi. He was a beginner in the profession and was unknown to the litigant public.



At the same time he did not have means enough to equip himself with a good library to have at his disposal necessary books on law. For 3 hard years he struggled on, under trying circumstances. At times he felt extremely depressed and repented his decision to shift to Bombay. Life had become dull and uninteresting for him. He had no work to keep himself busy. Every day he went to his office to meet some client, but after waiting for hours had to return disappointed. Any other person under such unfavourable circumstances would have lost all hope in his profession. But he stuck on tenaciously. His strength of character, from conviction in his ultimate success, confidence in his inherent ability, and untiring patience stood him in good stead. Some of the leading lawyers of the world have risen from a position of obscurity. They had to work hard and face untold hardships before their worth could be recognised. It is said of Sir John Simon, a famous British Advocate, that he depended upon private coaching to supplement his income from practice in law. Lord Reading tried his luck at various jobs before finally establishing his reputation in the legal profession. Jinnah was no exception to the rule. For 3 years, after he had been enrolled as a barrister, he did not get a single brief. This fact was

admitted by him in a speech at Ahmedabad on 17th January 1945 at Sir Lallubhai Law College. After 3 years of severe hardship, he saw better days. An old friend helped him to get permission from Mr. Macpherson, then acting Advocate-General of Bombay, to read in his chambers. Mr. Jinnah was the first Indian who was granted the privilege of reading in the Chambers of an English barrister. This privilege proved very helpful. Occasional briefs now began to dribble in and the obscure young lawyer who needed only an opportunity to display his talents proved his real worth and began to lay the foundation of his later legal success.

In 1900 a temporary vacancy of a Presidency Magistrate occurred at Bombay. Mr. P. N. Dastoor, the then Presidency Magistrate, went on leave for 3 months. Mr. Jinnah decided to apply for the post. He knew that he could not get this post unless he had some backing and support. Sir Charles Ollivant, Member in charge of Judicial Department, was to receive applications for the post. Mr. Jinnah got a letter of recommendation from Mr. Macpherson and the bold young man approched Sir Charles direct. The latter was much impressed by his smartness and ability and gave him an immediate appointment order.

On the expiry of 3 months, leave, Mr. Slander Sleater, then Chief Presidency Magistrate, proceeded on leave and was replaced by Mr. P. N. Dastoor who had now returned from leave. Mr. Jinnah's term of appointment was further extended. When the temporary leave period was over, Mr. Jinnah was offered a permanent post on Rs. 1,500 per month but he declined to accept the offer saying that his ambition was to earn Rs. 1,500 a day. He resumed his practice at the Bombay High Court. He was now in a position to establish himself on a sound footing. His reputation as an upright, honest lawyer spread rapidly and by sheer force of his forensic abilities, he rose to the topmost rung of the ladder.

After 2 years, when Sir Charles happened to meet the young lawyer, the old man was surprised to learn that he was firmly established in practice and was earning Rs. 3,000 a day.

The author remembers an interesting story of this early period in Quaid-i-Azam's life. He was just returning from a reception meeting held in his honour by the residents of Madanpura, a locality of Bombay, mostly inhabited by Muslim labourers and craftsmen. These people had offered Mr. Jinnah a purse of Rs. 1,000 which he returned with Rs. 500 from his own pocket, telling the

people that they should raise more funds and spend this money in opening a children's welfare centre and employing a trained nurse as Lady Health Visitor. As the people were giving him ovation, and raising cries of Mr. Jinnah Zinda-bad, the author praised them for their sincerity and faithfulness. Quaid-i-Azam said, "They have been sincere and faithful towards me ever since I started practice in Bombay and there was an important event which permanently won them over to my side." He then began to narrate the event thus :—"There is a mosque with much Waqf property in this locality, worth lakhs of rupees. Formerly, this property was in the possession of a Mutwalli who was misappropriat-ing it for his own private ends. The people of the locality raised funds and filed a case against him to dispossess him of this property. The Mutwalli approached me just to engage me as a counsel on his behalf and offered me a handsome fee. I refused as I did not want to back up the wrong side and lower myself in the esteem of the people. Next, some members of the people's party sought my advice in the case and offered me the promise of a very alluring fee if they won the case. I accepted their offer, feeling that theirs was a just cause. The case lingered on for some

time as efforts were being made to effect a compromise. At last it was agreed that a Board of 5 members should be set up with the Mutwalli as Chairman to manage the trust. Some 6 months after the Mutwalli died, all control passed into the hands of the people who now were in sole possession of the Waqf property. They recalled their original promise of an alluring fee and offered me Rs. 1,000. I declined the offer saying that it should be better spent in opening a school for boys which is so badly needed in this locality. Thereafter, I also gave them every possible help to see that the school was functioning successfully."

This instance clearly reveals the nobility of heart and generous-mindedness of Quaid-i-Azam. In those early years of his legal career, when he could justly claim a reasonable amount of fee as a due reward for his legal services, he refused to accept a penny and conducted the case free of charge on behalf of the people. Truly, he had endeared himself to the hearts of Bombay Muslims who twice returned him to Viceroy's Supreme Council as their accredited representative in 1909 and 1916.

Chapter III

JINNAH AS A CONGRESSMAN

He started his political career as a staunch Congressman. He had already distinguished himself as a prominent lawyer, and now relieved of the cares of life, he found leisure enough to take part in political activities. His early contact, some years ago, in London with Sir Dadabhoi Naoroji had stimulated his deep interest in the political cause of India. This grand old man was to preside over the Calcutta Session of the Indian National Congress in 1906. Mr. Jinnah met him at Bombay and agreed to work as Private Secretary for him. In this capacity, he had many opportunities of attending private meetings of the Congress. At the Calcutta Congress Session, he made his maiden speech in support of a Muslim Waqf law and said that Muslims could make known their grievances through the Congress. In this session, the Congress accepted self-government as its final goal and also agreed to an amendment proposed by Mr. Jinnah extending benefits of the new resolution to backward classes. Apart from Sir Dadabhoi Naoroji, other great persons who influenced Mr. Jinnah at this ealy stage of his

political career, were Mr. Badruddin Tyabji, Pherozeshah Mehta, Mr. Gokhale, Justice Ranade and Sir Surrendranath Bannerjee. At one time it was Jinnah's greatest ambition to become the Muslim Gokhale. Addressing a condolence meeting held just after Gokhale's death, he paid the dying leader tribute in these words : "Personally I have had the honour of being one of the colleagues of Mr. Gokhale in the Imperial Council for some years and to me it was always a matter of pride and pleasure to listen to him and often follow his lead."

Regarding some other Congress leaders whom he admired much, he stated thus in a speech in the Legislative Assembly :

"Sir, I might say that I learnt my first lesson in politics at the feet of Sir Surrendranath Bannerjee. I was associated with him as one of his followers and I looked up to him as a leader. He commanded the utmost respect of a large body of people in this country and of my humble self. Sir, as far as Mr. C. R. Das was concerned, he was a personal friend of mine. On this occasion I would like to say this that these were leaders in this country for whom the Muslims had the greatest respect, and they commanded the confidence of Muslims as much as any Mussulman

leader. Sir, the only lesson I feel that we might draw from the careers of these two great men is this : that in Unity lies salvation ". Just at the time when Mr. Jinnah was shaping his political outlook under the influence of Congress leaders, two events of far-reaching importance were taking place elsewhere in the history of Muslim India. In October 1906, a representative deputation of 36 Muslims from all parts of India waited on the Viceroy, Lord Minto, and pleaded for the recognition of Muslim claim for communal representation in Legislatures and other elective bodies. Lord Minto in his reply made a definite pledge that under any system of representati on whether it affects a municipality or district board or a legislative council, the Muhammadan Community should be represented as a separate community.

In December of the same year, the All-India Muslim League held its first annual session at Dacca amidst scenes of great enthusiasm. Muslim Bengal had risen to a man to contribute to the success of their national organisation. The main objects of the Muslim League at this time were (1) loyalty to the Crown (2) protection of the political rights of Muslims and (3) establishment of friendly relations with other communities. Loyalty to the Crown was given the first place in the creed of the Muslim

League to remove suspicions from the British mind that Muslims might organise for open revolt against the British rule. After the Indian Mutiny, they had suffered most and had been utterly neglected by the British Government.

Mr. Jinnah was at the time very suspicious of the aims and objects of the Muslim League and did not consider it worth any attention. He relied too much on Congress good-will and had full faith in the professions of its leaders. He identified himself so closely with Congress political aspirations that he strongly opposed in the Congress Session held at Allahabad in December 1910 the extension of the principle of communal elecortates to local bodies. On his part he fully enjoyed the confidence of all Congress leaders. He was chosen along with Gokhale to persuade Mr. Sinha to accept his appointment as Indian Member to the Viceroy's Executive Council which had been formed under Minto-Morley Reforms. It was the highest honour that could be conferred on an Indian at the time. Mr. Sinha, an eminent lawyer of Bengal, did not agree at first, as he was not willing to give up his enormous legal practice. But the two Congress patriots finally prevailed upon Sinha who agreed to serve as the first Indian Law Member.

The new Reforms which followed the Act of

1909 introduced the principle of communal representation in the Supreme Legislative Council at the Centre. Strangely enough, Mr. Jinnah who was at this time opposed to separate electorates for Muslims agreed to stand as a representative of the Bombay Muslims, and there being a dispute between two candidates, both of them withdrew in his favour. From 1909 up to 1913, he remained a member of the Supreme Legislative Council. As a member, he lent his support to every liberal Congress measure such as Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill and Mr. Basu's Special Marriage Bill which were violently opposed by the conservative Hindu opinion. His original work which won for him a real appreciation from Indian Muslims, was the Waqf Validating Bill. To introduce this bill, he was nominated for an extra term in 1913 by Lord Harding, the then Viceroy. This bill proved to his correligionists that his Congress leanings could not stand in his way, where the interests of his own community were concerned and that his advice and guidance in their political affairs could not be lightly ignored. He had so far held aloof from the activities of the Muslim League which in his opinion did not satisfy the political aspirations of those who had accepted Self-Government, as the final goal. In 1912 a conference of Muslim leaders met at Calcutta to draft a

constitution on more progressive lines. Mr. Jinnah was invited to this conference and he gave his invaluable support to the inclusion of a new clause in the constitution which brought the League and the Congress together in their political aims. The year 1913 marks a wonderful change in the life of Mr. Jinnah. He sailed for England in search of a long idle holiday in the company of Mr. Gokhale. But once in England, there was no rest for this tireless worker. Old connections with Indian students in London were revived and he founded the London Indian Association which provided a common political platform for the activities of young Indians in a foreign land. At his instance, India Office appointed a Committee to enquire into the just grievances of Indian students who complained of many difficulties hindering their admission into the British schools and colleges.

Before his departure for India in the autumn of 1913, he was persuaded by his friends Messrs. Mohammad Ali and Syed Wazir Hasan, then in England, to sign membership form of the All-India Muslim League. Mr. Jinnah agreed on condition that his loyalty to the Muslim League would not mean that he would have to break with the Congress which stood for the common political rights of all. It was, however, a great achievement of the Muslim

League to enlist Mr. Jinnah as its member. Hereafter he would be in a position to study the points of view of both the Congress and the League, and to form a balanced opinion about them. The League would no longer be dubbed by him as a body of opportunists who had no real programme before them. In fact the Muslim League, as subsequent events will show, was prepared to accept him as its accredited leader and to settle all issues with the Congress in a friendly spirit.

The Congress was equally hopeful that with Mr. Jinnah as its earnest supporter, the Congress-League differences could be settled in no time. Both of these bodies were now united for India Council reforms. They wanted the salary of the Secretary of State for India should fall on the British budget and the Council should be so reformed as to interfere least in Indian affairs. Mr. Jinnah was selected as member of the Congress deputation which was to press home to the British Government in England the need of immediate reforms in India Council. It was no small compliment to Mr. Jinnah's social activities as well as his mental qualities that he was chosen to be the spokesman of India before the British Parliament and public. His lucid statement of the Indian case which was

published in the London *Times* attracted universal attention.

So far have been reviewed, to some extent, the public activities of Mr. Jinnah as a sincere Congressman and it will now be discussed how, urged by the best motives, he worked strenuously for several years to bring about Hindu-Muslim unity on some agreed basis.

CHAPTER IV

AMBASSADOR OF HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY

The tragic death of Mr. Gokhale in February 1915 evoked universal mourning. Hindus and Muslims alike joined in a common bond of brotherhood to express their sorrow and grief. It was now felt that the time was ripe to make an earnest effort to reconcile the two communities on a lasting basis. After the adoption of self-government as its political goal by the Muslim League in 1913, the two great political parties had become identical in their aims. They fully agreed that they could not achieve their object without a united front. At the same time, they were aware that self-government was to be attained in stages. Hence reasonable men on either side were prepared to devise a scheme which should be agreeable for the time being to both the major communities. The Indian National Congress was to meet in 1915 at Bombay. At the invitation of Mr. Jinnah, the Muslim League also held its annual session at the same place. It was an inspiring sight to see the veterans of the Congress greeting and blessing their comrades in the Muslim League. Mr. Jinnah moved a resolution

in the League to appoint a committee which should draft a scheme of reforms with due regard to the rights of Muslims. The result of the efforts of this committee, in which Mr. Jinnah played the leading part, was the Congress-League Pact of 1916 known as the Lucknow Pact. This Pact formed the basis of Muslim political rights till the Communal Award of 1932. The pact secured representation to Muslims in their minority Provinces over and above their population ratio, while in the Punjab and Bengal, the two Muslim majority Provinces, Muslims were given representation below their population ratio. It was a proof of the immense popularity of Mr. Jinnah that while he was still an active member of the Congress, he was honoured by being elected as President of the historic session of the Muslim League at Lucknow in 1916.

The services rendered by Mr. Jinnah towards the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity earned for him the title of Apostle of Unity from his close friend, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu who published a book under this very title. It will be interesting to quote some passages from his Presidential address at Lucknow which make an open and frank declaration of his political views at this time.

Defending the position of the All-India Muslim

League, he said, "This body came into existence as an organisation with the main object of safe-guarding Muslim interests. The Muslims felt rightly the need of organising themselves for political action, lest the impending changes initiated by a Liberal Secretary of State should swamp them altogether as a community. This was perhaps the only course open to a community proud of its traditions of the past, yet weak in numbers and lacking the strength that organised political activity alone can give."

In the same address, he refuted the charge of separation against the Muslim League in these words :

"I have been a staunch Congressman throughout my public life and have been no lover of sectarian cries but the reproach of separation sometimes levelled at Mussulmans is singularly inept and wide of the mark, as I see this great communal organisation rapidly growing into a powerful factor for the birth of a United India. A minority must, above everything else, have a complete sense of security before its broader political sense can be evoked for co-operation and united endeavour in the national tasks. To the Mussulmans of India that security can only come through adequate and effective safeguards as

regards their political existence as a community.

No better defence of the position of Muslim League could be imagined. The close personal contact of Mr. Jinnah with the League and its leaders had convinced him of the genuine need of this organisation to safeguard Muslim interests. At the same time, he was in full agreement with the Congress political programme which aimed at offering a united front to force political concessions from British Government. He stated Congress position thus : "No cool-headed student of Indian affairs can lose sight of the great obvious truism that India is the first and the last resort for the Indians. Be the time near or distant, the Indian people are bound to attain to their full stature as a self-governing nation. Explaining Muslim attitude towards others he said, "Towards Hindus our attitude should be of good-will and brotherly feelings. Co-operation in the cause of our motherland should be our guiding principle. India's real progress can only be achieved by a true understanding and a harmonious relationship between the two great sister communities."

The Congress-League Pact made the position of the Congress very strong. The Muslims extended their full support to the Congress in the pursuit of

its programme. The two bodies worked hand in hand till 1923 when new differences arose which gradually widened the split and turned them finally into hostile organisations. For some years more Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah was to serve the Congress cause. In 1916 he was again elected to the Imperial Legislative Council. He set to work inside the Council to unite Hindu and Muslim members. On his persuasion, 19 members of the Council signed a memorandum demanding Self-Government for the people. From his position as a leading member of the Congress as well as of the Muslim League and as a member of the Imperial Legislative Council, he wielded influence which no other Indian member could claim to possess. The agitation for Home Rule was to win still more laurels for him. In 1917 the movement for India's Home Rule was in full swing. It had spread in every town and hamlet. As the very name Home Rule implies, it meant the right of the people to govern themselves. Mrs. Basant, the founder of Home Rule League and her co-workers were interned. Mr. Jinnah who had so far been watching the movement, at once became member of the Bombay Home Rule League and he presided over a public meeting, protesting strongly against the

action of the Viceroy. He addressed a number of meetings at Bombay, Allahabad and other places and roused public opinion against the Government's action.

On 20th August 1917, came the announcement from the Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons which in principle conceded the demand for post-war reforms. The Congress and the League held their sessions at Calcutta in December that year and Mr. Jinnah was the chief spokesman in both these assemblies. In the League session, he moved a resolution reminding the Government of the necessity of accepting the Congress-League scheme. In the Congress session, he spoke on the resolution for immediate responsible Self-Government.

Chapter V

HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY IN ACTION

In 1918 the Home Rule League chose Mr. Tilak as leader of a delegation to acquaint the British public with the political conditions in India. The delegation was to sail for England via Cape Town but it was detained at this port and the passports were cancelled. A protest meeting was held in Bombay in which Mr. Jinnah spoke these memorable words :

"There is hardly any reason that the Government in England, without consulting the Government of India, should form the most unjust, unfair and unwise conclusion. It only proves that India could no longer be governed from a distance of 7,000 miles. Apart from the question of the freedom of British citizens within the Empire, it involved a question of vital importance to India : Were not her representatives to be allowed to present their views and case to the statesmen and people of Great Britain who would have to decide the destinies of the people of this country ?"

But the British Government remained un-

yielding and refused the delegation permission to proceed to England. At this time another event added immensely to the popularity of Mr. Jinnah. A meeting was to be held in the Town Hall of Bombay to praise the services of Lord Willingdon, the Governor who was going back to England. The Bombay citizens hated the Governor for his unsympathetic attitude towords the Indians and resented the idea of a public meeting in his favour. As soon as the meeting was held, prominent Congressmen, headed by Mr. Jinnah, hastened to the place and took their seats in the front row. Their presence was enough to damp the spirit of the organisers of the meeting. The audience gave the organisers no hearing and the meeting ended in utter failure. The police appeared on the scene and tried to use force but their action roused still more public hatred. Mr. Jinnah and other leaders were cheered loudly by the admiring crowds and were taken in a great procession. Mr. Jinnah addressed the people in these stirring words: "Gentlemen, you are the citizens of Bombay. You have to-day scored a great truimph for democracy. Your triumph to-day has made it clear that even the combined forces of bureaucracy and autocracy could not overawe you. December 11

is a red-letter day in the history of Bombay. Gentlemen, go and rejoice over the day that has secured us the triumph of democracy. The Bombay citizens soon decided to recognise the national services of Mr. Jinnah in a befitting manner. They raised funds for erecting a memorial in his honour. The Jinnah Memorial Hall of Bombay still stands to remind of the deep love which the people of Bombay felt for their illustrious leader.

Mr. Jinnah was now past 42, but he had won foremost position among the political leaders. As an ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity, his efforts had borne fruit in the form of the Lucknow Pact. As an intrepid and bold defender of the rights of the people, there could be no better tribute to his memory than the Bombay Jinnah Memorial Hall. He was extolled as a popular hero by the Bombay citizens, and was praised widely for his strong advocacy for the cause of India's freedom. Both the Congress and the League had an equal claim on his devotion to their cause. He was honoured and respected by both. The British Government too recognised in him a cool and impassionate champion of India's cause who could never swerve from the right path by any threat or allurement.

The Home Rule Movement which started in

1917, marked the beginning of a long struggle against British Imperialism which now sought breathing space to prolong its life by half-hearted measures of reform such as the Reform Act of 1919 and the Federal Act of 1935. In the first few years of this struggle, the Congress and the Muslim League offered a united front, but it soon became evident that they had joined the struggle from different motives. The Congress believed in full and responsible self-government as the real solution of India's difficulties. It had reluctantly accepted the principle of communal representation in the Lucknow Pact, and still hoped that in due course the Muslims would be forced to throw in their lot with the Congress and accept its leadership. The Muslim League, on the other hand, while equally anxious for the liberation of India from British rule, had two other objects in view. It wanted real and effective safeguards for the protection of Muslim interests as a minority and also desired an end of British domination in other Muslim countries. Mr. Jinnah who had so far been a staunch Congressman, and worked zealously for Hindu-Muslim unity, still had not given up hope of a final settlement between the two major communities. While he was anxious to retain the sympathies of Muslims for

the Congress, he was equally anxious to secure to the Muslims the benefits of the Lucknow Pact.

There was at this time general unrest in the country. Muslims resented the internment of Ali Brothers for their bold and fearless criticism of the British policy regarding the Turkish Empire. In 1918, the League session was attended by a strong body of Ulema for the first time. The British Government was warned that the Khilafat question was the sole concern of Muslims and that the occupation of holy places of Islam including those of Palestine and Iraq was a clear breach of pledges and assurances given. Popular discontent against the Government reached its climax in 1919. The immediate cause was the Rowlatt Bill which was condemned as a very repressive measure by all political parties of India. Mr. Jinnah protested against this bill in the Legislative Council, calling it a Black Act and resigned membership of the Council. At this stage Mr. Gandhi came to the forefront. He organised Satyagrah movement on a mass scale. His arrest led to a general disorder in the country. For some days, all regular Government had come to a standstill. The Jallianwala Tragedy of Amritsar, which resulted in the slaughter of several hundred Indians, is a painful reminder of this period of

unrest.

A special session of the League and the Congress was held at Calcutta. Mr. Jinnah in his presidential address at the League Session summed up the popular sentiments of a Muslim in these woods, "First came the Rowlat Bill, accompanied by the Punjab atrocities and then came the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire (cries of "shame"), and the Khilafat. The one attacks our liberty and the other our faith."

The Reform Act of 1919 was meant to pacify public opinion, but it failed in its purpose and was rejected by all parties. The people were in a state of excitement. The Muslims felt that they had been betrayed by the British Government on the Khilafat question. Ali Brothers' release at this time intensified popular excitement. Mr. Gandhi who had just started his political career in India and had won universal attention by his Satyagrah campaign openly expressed his sympathies with Muslims. Under his influence the Congress rejected the new Reforms and joined hands with the Muslims on the Khilafat question. Gandhi had in fact been influenced by Ali Brothers in his decision to side with the Muslims, as at the Amritsar Congress held before the release of Ali Brothers, he had expressed his willingness to work the reforms. Maulana

Muhammad Ali was such a sincere and devoted Muslim that he was prepared to sacrifice everything for the sake of religion. For him Khilafat was a life-and-death question for a Muslim. India's independence could be delayed but not the Khilafat question. Mr. Gandhi was aware of these religious sentiments of Ali Brothers and also knew of the immense popularity that they commanded with the Muslim masses. In his ambition to claim leadership of a united India, he struck a working alliance with them. While Ali Brothers were fed on the hope that, with Congress support, the Government would be forced to satisfy Muslim feelings on Khilafat question, Mr. Gandhi was perceiving clearly the benefits of his alliance with Ali Brothers. He wanted more power and influence for the Congress, and more political concessions from the Government. There was thus no common ground in their political aims. The issue before Ali Brothers was religious while that before Gandhi was political. Mr. Gandhi's attitude was revealed by a statement in the *Harijan*. "Swaraj is freedom for every one. Where there is complete freedom of opinion, that of the majority must prevail." This clearly meant that Gandhi's real aim was the establishment of a Hindu majority rule in India for which he wanted the support of Ali Brothers and the Ulema,

to whom the restoration of Caliphate was more important than the gaining of political concessions for Muslims.

Mr. Jinnah, whose sympathies were with the Muslims on the Khilafat question, did not agree with the non-cooperation programme of the Bombay Khilafat Conference, which had adopted it at the instance of Mr. Gandhi. In the special League Session of 1920 of which he was the President, he expressed the Muslim feelings in the strongest terms on the Khilafat question, but at the same time he advised them to think carefully over the pros and cons of Gandhi's non-cooperation programme. To repeat his words : "It rests with you alone to measure your strength and to weigh the pros and cons of the question before you arrive at a decision. But once you have decided to march, let there be no retreat under any circumstances. The non-co-operation resolution was finally adopted by the Muslim League as well ; Gandhi was now virtually at the head of non-cooperation movement. The programme included triple boycott of schools, courts and councils. The spinning-wheel became a symbol of the movement and the use of khaddi was encouraged. The three most destructive results of the movement were (1) mass emigration of over 18,000 Muslims who suffered appalling

hardships ; (2) partial destruction of Aligarh University by the setting up of a parallel University known as Jamia Millia ; (3) the Moplah rising which was suppressed with a cruel hand.

The non-co-operation movement finally slackened and the Congress was forced to call it off. There were now signs of rift between the two communities. The Moplah rising had been condemned in the Hindu press and the Government was told that Moplahs wanted to establish Muslim Raj. Ali Brothers' strongly-worded speeches on Khilafat question were misunderstood by the Hindus. In a fit of excitement they had said that if non-violence failed to secure their object, they would have to resort to violence. Pandit Malavya intervened and persuaded Ali Brothers to express their regret.

Muslims were also feeling suspicious of the Hindus. They felt that the Hindus were not taking part in non-cooperation in a real spirit and were putting up a mere show. The parallels of Muslim sacrifices, as evinced in their mass emigration, Moplah outbreak, and Aligarh boycott were lacking on Hindu side. In the U.P., Hindu members by their majority vote in the Legislative Council reduced

Muslim representation in Local Bodies. In the Punjab, the Hindus strongly opposed Mian Fazl-i-Hussain's educational policy for the uplift of Muslims and backward classes. The Hindu Mahasabha came into existence at this time with the twofold objects, of organising Hindus for self-defence and increasing their numbers through conversion of the Muslims. The Hindu *Sangathan* and *Shuddi* became by-words with the Hindus. Pandit Malavya gave his blessings to the movement and the first session of Mahasabha was held at Gaya in 1922. The year 1923 marked the end of Hindu-Muslim unity which had resulted from the efforts of Mr. Jinnah during his long public life as a Congressman. Khilafat was no longer a living issue, to divert Muslim attention from other political questions. Non-cooperation had failed to achieve its object, the restoration of the Caliph to his former position. The Turks had liberated their homelands from Greeks and the treaty of Lausanne had practically conceded to them all that they demanded. The Muslims were sadly disillusioned when Kamal Pasha announced the abolition of Khilafat. The Khilafat Committee lost its former influence and the Muslim League which had been thrown into the background by Khilafat Conference, re-established its old position.

CHAPTER VI

JINNAH FORMULATES MUSLIM DEMANDS

Mr. Jinnah indicated his future line of action as President of Muslim League in the session held at Lahore in May 1924. He said, "We must not forget that one essential requisite condition to achieve Swaraj is the political unity between the Hindus and the Musllms. The domination by the Bureaucracy will continue so long as the Hindus and the Muslims do not come to a settlement. I am almost inclined to say that India will get Dominion Government the day the Hindus and the Muslims are united. Swaraj is almost an interchangeable term with Hindu-Muslim unity." Under the influence and advice of Mr. Jinnah, the Bombay session of the League in 1924 appointed a committee to reconsider the political situation and to work in close alliance with the Congress. Though communal riots had become of frequent occurrence and the relations between the two communities were strained, Mr. Jinnah still never lost the hope that Hindu-Muslim unity could be achieved through the joint efforts of the Congress and the League. He attended a num-

ber of unity conferences which were held to settle the points of dispute that divided the Hindus and the Muslims in the religious and social fields, but it was always overlooked that religion alone was not the dividing factor. The real issues which demanded solution were political and economical. An all-Parties Conference was summoned by Mr. Gandhi to settle political differences between the Hindus and the Muslims. Mr. Jinnah in addressing the meeting said that the real dispute was regarding representation of Muslims in various legislatures and other elective bodies and their share in services. He reviewed the history of the Lucknow Pact and said it was not meant to be permanent. He summed up Muslim position by demanding (1) that in the Punjab and Bengal, Muslims should be given the rights of a majority, (2) that in other provinces they should be given representation as outlined in the Lucknow Pact and (3) they should be assured of a proper share in services. Mr. Gandhi failed to give any promise on behalf of the Congress or the Hindus and the conference achieved nothing. In April 1927 Mr. Jinnah called an informal conference of Muslim leaders at Delhi. After long discussion, the conference agreed to the principle of joint electorates for the Punjab and Bengal with reservation of seats on population basis, provided

Sind should be separated from Bombay Presidency and reforms should be introduced in N.W.F. Province and Baluchistan. These proposals were known as Delhi Muslim proposals and were a great concession to the Congress view-point. These proposals were accepted by the All-India Congress Committee meeting in May 1927 in Bombay and were later adopted in a resolution at the Congress Session at Madras in December 1927. Mr. Jinnah made it clear in a statement that the League's offer is interdependent and can only be accepted or rejected in its entirety.

It was now felt that as the main differences between the Hindus and the Muslims could be settled in the light of Delhi Muslim proposals, there would be no difficulty in devising an agreed constitution. An All-Parties Conference was called at Delhi but the Congress receded from its original position and drafted new proposals on the basis of adult franchise in clear disregard of Delhi Muslim proposals. These proposals were later on included in the Nehru Report. The Muslim League appointed a delegation under Mr. Jinnah to explain their view-point to the All-Parties Convention at Calcutta, summoned at the instance of the Congress in December 1928. Mr. Jinnah, as the spokesman, laid before the Congress the following main pro-

posals on behalf of the Muslim League.

(1) That one-third of the elected representatives of both the Houses of the Central Legislature should be Muslims.

(2) That seats should be reserved for Muslims in the Punjab and Bengal on population basis for ten years.

(3) That Sind should be separated from the Bombay Presidency and reforms should be extended to N.W.F. Province and Baluchistan.

(4) That the form of the constitution should be Federal and the Provinces should have full powers of autonomy.

All these proposals were summarily rejected and Mr. Jinnah returned disappointed to report to the League that there was complete rupture with the Congress. Hereafter, Mr. Jinnah definitely chose the role of a Muslim Leaguer, but he had yet to meet with strong opposition from the Nationalist Muslims and other factions within the League before he could convert the body into a strong political organ of Muslims. It will be interesting to reproduce here the author's interview with him in March 1943 on the failure of his efforts to achieve Hindu-Muslim unity. He stated his case thus :

"My own experience of a public career extending over 40 years, of which a considerable period has been spent in close association with the Hindus of various shades and opinions, has convinced me that the Hindus can never be relied on questions where their own interests come into conflict with those of the Muslims. For years I worked in the hope that Hindu-Muslim unity will be finally attained and that the majority community will guarantee all the safeguards that the Muslims considered essential to the protection of their interests. None was better qualified than myself to undertake this task of effecting a real union between the two communities. From the very beginning, I had kept my mind open on this question. Up to 1913 when I accepted League membership, I was strongly opposed to the extension of the principle of communal representation beyond legislatures. But later on, when I was convinced that without effective and real safeguards for the Muslims, Hindu-Muslim unity could never materialise, I bent all my energies to persuade the Congress and the League to come to an understanding and the Lucknow Pact of 1916 was the first fruit of my efforts. Thereafter right up to 1931 when the second Round Table Conference was held, I continued using all my influence with the Muslim

League to settle its differences with the Congress but I was finally disillusioned by the uncompromising attitude of Mr. Gandhi and the machinations and intrigues of Hindu leaders who never took the Muslim case seriously and always tried to evade the question of safeguards on one pretext or another. It is my conviction now, born of my personal experience, that the Muslims cannot expect a fair deal from a community which has remained a subject race far too long to develop a spirit of generosity in its dealings with others and which has relegated one-fourth of their own numbers to a state of perpetual social degradation. The upper caste Hindus who dominate the Hindu masses at present, are generally a well-to do class, and democracy is a cloak for them to retain their privileged position. They cannot be expected to part with their vested interests and monopolistic ambitions for the sake of the Muslims or the depressed classes in their own order."

Nehru Report was the last word from the Hindu side and it convinced the Muslims that their interests had been utterly disregarded. Mr. Jinnah was authorised to draft in concise terms the Muslim demands which alone could form the basis of any future constitution that could be devised for India. Originally these demands were 14 in number and

became famous as Fourteen Points but afterwards the number was increased to 15.

Mr. Jinnah was to move these points in the form of a resolution in the open session of the Muslim League to be presided over by him. There were at this time four sections within the League. One group, led by Sir Mohammad Shafi, had formed a parallel League in the Punjab and now was willing to return to the League on its own terms. The second group which belonged to Delhi Muslim Conference and enjoyed the support of Ali Brothers, accepted Mr. Jinnah's draft with some modifications. The 3rd group, composed of the Nationalist Muslims, supported Nehru Report and was strongly opposed to Jinnah's 14 points. The last group, comprising moderate elements among the Leaguers, had full confidence in Mr. Jinnah's leadership. A committee of 7 members including Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Maulana Muhammad Ali was set up to report on Mr. Jinnah's draft resolution. The Nationalist Muslims created trouble at the League meeting which had to be postponed. They met subsequently in a conference convened by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. Their object was to win support for Nehru Report from the platform of the Nationalist Muslims but their tactics failed and the Bombay Muslims exposed their evil intentions. Mr. Jinnah had finally succeeded in closing the

split within League ranks by effecting reunion with Sir Shafi and other Muslim leaders. Jinnah's 14 points now became part of the policy and programme of the Muslim League and remained unchanged till the whole position was reviewed by Muslim League in the Lahore Session of 1940 and Pakistan was declared to be the final goal of the Indian Muslims.

CHPTER VII

SIMON COMMISSION
AND THE
ROUND TABLE CONFERENCES

Mr. Jinnah had undoubtedly set his mind on rallying the Muslims under the banner of the Muslim League but he never lagged behind the Congress in criticising the actions of the Government when it was found to be clearly in the wrong. The Reforms Act of 1919 provided that the working of the new reforms would be reconsiderd at the end of 10 years. A Royal Commission consisting of members of the British Parliament with Sir John Simon as Chairman was appointed in 1927 to report on further constitutional reforms for India. Mr. Jinnah in a joint statement with his colleagues in the Assembly, advised the people to boycott the Commission as it was unrepresentative in character. The League excepting the group led by Sir Shafi passed a resolution that Muslims should have nothing to do with the Commission at any stage or in any form. Sir Shafi had seceded from the League not merely to cooperate with the Commission but to protest against the willingness of the

League to accept joint electorates for communal electorates. The split was finally closed when the League adopted Jinnah's Fourteen Points. The Royal Commission made a detailed study of the Muslim case for separate representation but except for recommending 30 representative for Muslims in the Central Legislature, it did not propose any changes in the position held by Muslims under the Lucknow Pact. The Commission, however, frankly admitted that Hindu-Muslim differences were not due to religion alone but to difference of race, a different system of law and the absence of inter-marriages.

The Report said that India's unity was largely the result of the British rule which had established law and order throughout the subcontinent and given a common language in the form of English to the educated classes. The report while recognising the necessity of safeguards for the Muslims, blundered in suggesting a wrong remedy. According to it, the only effective way to protect minorities was to entrust the Governors of the Provinces with special powers to interfere when necessary. This arrangement proved, later on, an utter failure and during the Congress regime, when it was in power in 7 Provinces, the Governors did not interfere in the interests of minorities.

Before the Commission submitted its report to the British Parliament, Mr. Jinnah addressed a detailed letter to Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, the British Prime Minister, in which he pleaded that the British Government should consult the real representatives of India before granting any further reforms. Mr. Jinnah's letter had its effect and the Viceroy announced that a Round Table Conference would be called in London. The Congress refused its hand of co-operation as the Government was not prepared to treat it as the dominant political party, and to promise Dominion Status immediately. In resentment, the Congress passed in its Lahore Session resolution for complete independence in December 1929 and organised all over India the celebration of an Independence Day. This was followed by Mr. Gandhi's Civil Disobedience Movement in February, 1930 which he started, in the teeth of opposition from Ali Brothers, by breaking salt laws. Mr. Jinnah saw through the Congress game. Mr. Gandhi wanted to force the hands of Government to consult none but the Congress representatives in framing a new constitution for India.

The first Round Table Conference met in London in November 1930. Mr. Jinnah attended it as a League representative. On the very first day of the Conference, Mr. Jinnah pleaded India's

cause in these words, "I must emphasise that India now expects translation and fulfilment of these declarations into actions." Mr. Jinnah pointed out that all political parties were united in their demand for a full measure of self-govern- but at the same time he urged that adequate safeguards should be included in the constitution for the protection of the Muslims and other minorities.

When this Conference was in session, Sir Muhammad Iqbal in his historic presidential address at Allahabad in December 1930, demanded the formation of a consolidated Muslim State in the best interests of India and Islam. A memorable passage from the address which gave birth to the idea of Pakistan is as follows :—

I would like to see the Punjab, N.W.F. Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single State. Self-Government within the British Empire or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West India."

Little then Sir Muhammad Iqbal realise that besides the Muslims of N.-W. India, the Muslims of East Bengal and Assam were also destined to

become masters in their homelands. The credit for it goes to Quaid-i-Azam who perceived clearly, some ten years later, when the Lahore Resolution was passed in 1940, that the Muslims were bound to have their national homelands in those parts of India where they were in a majority.

The first Round Table Conference lasted till May 1931. Mr. Jinnah stayed in England and started practice at the Privy Council. His ambition at the time was to settle down in England and to fight for India's rights, if possible, by seeking election as a member of the British Parliament. Alarming news, however, continued to reach him from India that the Congress was aiming at the establishment of Hindu Raj and that it felt itself strong enough to achieve independence even without the help of the Muslims. A foremost Muslim leader like Maulana Hasrat Mohani who had formerly been a staunch Congressman and had stood for India's complete independence, openly declared that the Hindus were dreaming of Hindu Raj in India. He warned the Muslims that they would become permanent slaves of the Hindus if they did not close up their ranks and become united. Mr. Jinnah returned to India before the second Round Table Conference was called in England, but he stayed only for a few months. Addressing

the U. P. Muslim Conference held at Allahabad on August 8, 1931, he expressed his willingness to come to terms with the Congress, if the Hindus would concede to the Muslims the rights of a majority in the Punjab and Bengal. He frankly stated, "I am Indian first and Muslim afterwards but at the same time I agree that no Indian can serve his country if he neglects the interests of the Muslims. It is only by making the Muslims strong that you will be serving your country." Continuing he said, "What is a State? What is a representative Government? Does it mean that the 70 million of Muslims should be tied hand and foot in a constitution where a particular class of Hindus can forcibly tyrannize and deal with them as they like? Certainly not. No Government of any country could succeed by keeping Muslims under bondage and subjugation." The Congress had agreed to appoint Mr. Gandhi as its sole nominee at the Second Round Table Conference. The Muslim League was represented by Sir Muhammad Shafi, Maulana Muhammad Ali and Mr. Jinnah. Mr. Gandhi proposed a scheme on behalf of the Congress which offered to Muslims joint electorates without reservation of seats on population basis in Bengal and the Punjab. Mr. Jinnah would have

accepted this scheme if the Muslim majority in population had not been reduced to a minority. His fears were justified; that as the Muslim voting strength was below their population ratio in these provinces, they could not secure a majority position in a scheme of joint electorates. If the Congress had been wise enough to remove Muslim fears and to promise them 33% representation at the centre, the history of Hindu-Muslim relations might have been changed and the two communities might have united on a permanent basis. Mr. Jinnah had been still working for a pact on the basis of the Lucknow Pact and was willing to lend his personal support to any reasonable working arrangement. Mr. Gandhi's election as Chairman of the Minorities Committee at first encouraged the hope of Hindu-Muslim settlement. On 6th October 1931, it seemed that this hope would be realised. Mr. Gandhi had conceded Muslim demands in a spirit of confidence, before a Muslim delegation which met him at night. The delegation was assured that there would be no falling back upon the Congress-Muslim pact, and Mr. Gandhi even promised to use his good offices to secure the consent of non-Congress Hindus and others to the terms of the pact. But to the utter surprise and disappointment of the Muslim delegation, Mr. Gandhi

retraced and changed his mind under the influence of Pandit Malviya and some other Hindu leaders. The Sikhs were encouraged to oppose the Congress Muslim pact while Pandit Malviya openly criticised it. Mr. Gandhi as an indifferent spectator watched the proceedings of the meeting and did not say a word in support of the Muslim case. On the contrary, he suggested that a tribunal of 3 or 5 men should be chosen to decide on the conflicting claims of Hindus, Muslims and others. Discussion then arose as to whether members of this Tribunal should be Indian or non-Indian. Mr. Jinnah suggested that a small committee should be appointed from our own members whose decision would be final. The Sikh members accepted this proposal. Pandit Malviya proposed that the committee should have both Indian and British members. Dr. Moonje wanted all the members to be outsiders. Finally. Mr. Gandhi admitted his failure to come to any decision and the meeting dispersed without any result. Mr. Jinnah and other Muslim members were shocked by the inconsistent attitude of Mr. Gandhi, who had broken his own solemn assurances. The astute Mahasabha leader Pandit Malviya carried the day. He wrote to the British Prime Minister that he should give his final decision on Hindu-

Muslim question. The decision came in the form of the Communal Award in 1932. The award surprised the Congress and the Mahasabha leaders who expected the Labour Government to favour them at the expense of the League. It was a personal triumph for Mr. Jinnah who had pleaded the Muslim case so well in the two Round Table Conferences. The award did not give the Muslims their legal majority in the Punjab and Bengal, but at the same time it made it impossible for non-Muslims to reduce them to the position of a minority. In Bengal, the Muslims were assured of 120 against 80 Hindu seats in a house of 250 and 40 seats were reserved for the Europeans. In the Punjab, the proportion of Muslim seats was 86 in a house of 175, but they could have their majority by winning some seats in the Landholders' Labour and University constituencies. The success of Mr. Jinnah's efforts lay in the fact that communal electorates would continue and there would be no change in the position without their consent.

The Congress was itself to blame for the award. Mr. Gandhi had delayed to come to terms with the Muslims, and had intentionally left the matter undecided in the vain hope that the

British Government would see eye to eye with him. The Congress now could not but observe an attitude of neutrality, neither defending nor opposing it.

Chapter VIII

SPLIT WITH CONGRESS

After the first Round Table Conference, Mr. Jinnah had started practice in London, and except for two short intervals of a few months' duration when he was recalled to India by his friends to attend to pressing League affairs, he stayed for about 4 years in England from 1931 to 1936. During his absence, the League was torn away by party factions. A parallel organisation in the name of Muslim Conference had overshadowed the Muslim League which could not hold its annual sessions in 1934 and 1935. Mention has already been made of his return to India in 1931 when he addressed U.P. Muslim Conference. The second time, he came back to India in 1934. The split within the the ranks of League was closed and both Muslim League and the Muslim Conference were fused into one party. A joint session of the two at Simla on 13th August 1934, adopted a common programme to fight the elections for the Assembly. The Congress had also decided on Council-entry and was now bending all its energies on capturing all

the seats in the Assembly. The Congress swept the polls and captured 44 seats. Mr. Jinnah was returned but was not satisfied with the election results. Muslim candidates were generally returned on independent tickets as the League did not yet enjoy the support of the masses.

His great achievement as member of the Assembly was acceptance of the communal award by the Assembly. The Government had officially moved a resolution on the new reforms which were afterwards included in the Government of India Act of 1935. Mr. Jinnah declared in the Assembly that the idea of Federation was unworkable in its present form as it gave no real powers to India, but he was prepared to accept the communal award and the Provincial autonomy. His amendment was in two parts. The first part concerned the communal award. As the Congress remained neutral, this part was accepted by a majority of votes. The second part concerned acceptance of the Provincial autonomy but rejection of Federation. The Congress supported this part while the official members voted against it. So this part was also carried with the support of the Congress and the Muslim members.

Mr. Jinnah's constant nightmare was the wrangles and party squabbles of Muslim leaders.

inside and outside the Muslim League.

Various conferences were held at Allahabad, Delhi, and Lucknow to bring together all sections of Muslims and the split finally ended when Mr. Jinnah was elected as President in March 1934.

Ever since 1923, when the League had regained its lost position after having been thrown into the background by the Khilafat Committee and the Gandhian leadership, Mr. Jinnah was the only link between the extremist sections within the League. The Nationalist Muslims with their allegiance to the Congress mistrusted extremist Leaguers, who were out and out communal in their outlook. Mr. Jinnah who commanded the confidence of moderate and saner elements, always pursued a middle course, neither offending openly one party nor the other. On occasions he felt disgusted with their party factions but then his duty towards his nation forced him to come to their rescue and save their great national organisation. In a remarkable speech at Aligarh in 1936, he narrated his efforts to bring about Hind-Muslim unity and to organise the Muslim League.

"Many efforts had been made since 1924 till the Round Table Conference tosettle the Hindu-Muslim question. At that time, I knew no pride and used to beg from the Congress. But I

received the shock of my life at the Round Table Conference. In the face of danger, the Hindu sentiments, the Hindu mind, the Hindu attitude led me to the conclusion that there was no hope of unity. I felt very pessimistic about my country. The position was most unfortunate. The Musalmans were in the no man's land. They were led by either the flunkeys of the British Government or the camp-followers of the Congress. Whenever attempts were made to organise the Muslims, toadies and flunkeys on the one hand and traitors from the Congress camp on the other, frustrated the efforts. I began to feel that neither could I help India nor change the Hindu mentality, nor could I make the Musalmans realise their precarious position. I felt so disappointed and so depressed that I decided to settle down in London. Not that I did not love India ; but I felt utterly helpless. I kept in touch with India. At the end of four years, I found that the Musalmans were in the greatest danger. I made up my mind to come back to India as I could not do any good from London."

Chapter IX

JINNAH ORGANISES MUSLIM LEAGUE

In 1936 on the eve of the new elections for Provincial Assemblies under the Federal Act of 1935, Mr. Jinnah decided to return to India in the wider interests of his community and country. Though his past experience had been very disappointing, he never gave up the hope that one day the Congress would learn wisdom to do justice to the Muslims. He realised that if the Muslims could be united as one man, no power on earth could refuse their reasonable demands. During his 4 years' stay in England, he had not been sitting idle. He watched in England the trend of the British public opinion about India's case for freedom. He tried to influence his opinion in the interests of the Muslims as far as it lay in his power. He also tried to convince his Congress friends in England that Muslims did not stand in the way of India's independence but only wanted a fair deal for a proper distribution of political power between the two major .communities. From 1936 onwards, Mr. Jinnah's one desire was to make the League

strong enough to command respect for its decisions and to meet Congress on equal terms. It was no longer to be an advisory committee of the Muslims which assembled and dispersed once a year after passing a few resolutions. He wanted now to make League the only respresentative political party of Muslim India, which should return its own candidates in all the legislative and elective bodies.

To put new life into the League, Mr. Jinnah summoned the annual session at Bombay in March 1936. This session authorised Mr. Jinnah to form a Central Parliamentary Board with branches in all Provinces to contest the coming elections for provincial legislatures. While this session was being held, the Congress met at Lucknow and devised a scheme, called the Muslim Mass Contact Movement. The Congress leaders wanted to tell the Muslim masses that the Congress stood for the interests of poor classes while the League looked after the interests of its selfish leaders. The Congress had immense funds at its disposal and could engage hirelings to create split in Muslim ranks. Mr. Jinnah was fully alive to the danger, but he had full faith in himself and the rightness of his cause. He went on tour in different provinces, held consultations with Muslim leaders and addressed public meetings. He met with difficulties, particularly in the Punjab where

the Unionists under Sir Fazl-i-Hussain did not lend him any support. When the elections were over, the League had captured 60% to 70% Muslim seats in U.P., C.P., Bombay and Madras, and 50% in Bengal, but it did not succeed in the Punjab, Bihar, Assam, Sind and N.W.F. Province, as no parliamentary boards could be formed in these provinces. The Congress on the other hand swept the polls in 6 provinces where it had a majority.

It was now expected that the Congress and the League would forget their past differences and work together for the common good. At first the Congress refused to accept office but in July 1937, it revised its ealier decision and agreed to form cabinets in provinces. Intoxicated with power, the Congress ignored the Mulim League members in various provinces and chose such Muslims as Ministers as did not belong to the Muslim League. The net result was that the League was drawn to the position of a minority party in most of the provinces. No self-respecting Muslim was prepared to accept the humiliating conditions which the Congress offered. The League members were told that they should resign membership of League, sign Congress pledge, and accept Congress policy if they wanted any share in political power. In an hour of pride, Pandit Nehru declared that there were two parties in

India, the Congress and the Government and all others must line up with one or the other. Quick came the reply from Mr. Jinnah, that there was a third party which could not be ignored and this was the Muslim League. The Congress Ministers remained in office for 2½ years when they resigned on the issue of the World War II. During this period, the Muslims suffered untold hardships. Efforts were made to enforce Hindu religious practices in schools attended by both Hindu and Muslim students. *Bande Matram*, a Hindu song was accepted as a national song for all official and public functions. Hindi was encouraged as a national language. In C.P., Vidhya Mandir Scheme was officially adopted and Muslim students were forced to read books meant for Hindu children. Under the plea of Goonda acts, respectable Muslims were arrested and harassed by the Police. Freedom of speech and liberty of press were denied to Muslims and repressive action was taken against Muslim newspapers on one pretext or another. The Governors were helpless to protect the interests of minorities, as the Congress had got an undertaking from the Viceroy before accepting office that they would not use their powers of interference.

The Gandhian cult was openly preached from the public platforms. Gandhi was extolled as an

incarnation of God and his image was worshipped by his Hindu admirers. Gandhi's numerous Hindu disciples openly declared in public meetings that Mahatma Gandhi was the greatest man since the days of Christ and there was no other way of life which could compare with Gandhian philosophy and mode of living. It appeared that Congress had no other aim before it but the revival of Hindu religion and culture and the suppression of Muslims. At the same time the Hindu press carried on a relentless propaganda against Mr. Jinnah. He was ridiculed, maligned and abused. The more, however, he was hated, the more he was honoured by the Muslims. He was elected President of the League at Lucknow session in 1937 and thereafter the nation re-elected him from year to year until he finally achieved Pakistan.

The Lucknow Session of the Muslim League was hailed as a personal triumph for Mr. Jinnah's sagacity. It enhanced the power and prestige of the Muslim League. The Punjab and Bengal were both won over to the League cause. Sir Sikander Hayat, the Punjab Premier, announced on behalf of the Unionists that they would join the Muslim League and accept its policy and programme. Mr. A. K. Fazlul Haq, the Bengal Premier made a similar announcement on behalf of the Krishak

Praja party. The League on this occasion changed its creed from responsible self-Government to full independence. The resolution stated, "The object of All-India Muslim League shall be the establishment in India of full independence in the form of a federation of free democratic states". The resolution was meant to show to the British Government that Muslims would not accept a strong Government at the centre as it would be dominated by a Hindu majority and reduce the Provinces to the position of weak and helpless units. Alarmed at the growing popularity of the Muslim League, Pandit Nehru entered into a long correspondence with Mr. Jinnah to bring about a Hindu-Muslim pact, but his militant style did not appeal to Mr. Jinnah. Mr. Gandhi now offered his services. But, unfortunately, he did not go to see Mr. Jinnah as a Hindu but as a Congressman. The conversation broke down as Gandhi had refused to accept the League as the sole representative organisation of the Muslims and the Congress as a Hindu body.

The Muslim League was gaining strength day by day but in 1938 it suffered an irreparable loss in the death of the inspiring poet and philosopher of Islam, Sir Muhammad Iqbal, and the stalwart champion of Musalmans, Maulana Shaukat Ali. The League met at Patna under a heavy shadow of

grief. Apart from the death of the two illustrious leaders, the Muslims had been grieved to hear the Congress atrocities in their majority Provinces. Mr. Jinnah in his presidential address refuted the Congress allegation that he was serving the ends of the British Imperialism. On the other hand, he laid the charge against Congress that it wanted to establish Hindu Raj and had set up a reign of terror in the Congress-governed Provinces. He expressed satisfaction that there was growth of national awakening among the Muslims and they had dealt a crushing blow to the Congress Muslim mass contact movement.

The outbreak of War in 1939, brought in new factors which gave additional strength to Mr. Jinnah's pleadings for Muslim case. War had broken out in September 1939. The Congress passed a resolution on War urging British Government to clarify its aims and to declare India's independence in return for its help in the War. The Viceroy promised Dominion Self-Government but considering this assurance vague and uncertain, the Congress advised its provincial ministries to resign. In November 1939, Congress laid down office in all the Provinces and the Governors took all power into their own hands. Mr. Jinnah issued a press statement advising Muslims to observe a Deliverance Day all

over India. The Viceroy's offer of Dominion Self-Government was followed by debates in Parliament which gave the Muslims some idea of how their case was misunderstood by Labour Members of the House. The Congress point of view was strongly supported by Wedgewood Benn and Sir Stafford Cripps. The latter said all idea of Federation should be abandoned and the British Government should deal with the British India alone. A new Central Legislative Assembly for the British India should be elected on the basis of existing franchise; the majority party in the Legislature should form a Government which should function as an Executive Council. If these suggestions had been accepted, the Congress would have returned in an overwhelming majority to the Central Legislature and the number of Muslim seats according to the existing basis of franchise would have been reduced to less than 25%. Sir Stafford Cripps was anxious to appease the Congress at the expense of the Muslims. Defending the Congress case he said, "If you are to have a democractic Government, then the minority should obey the majority rule and that is what happens in this counry every day of the week. If you accept democracy, if you set up a democratic system which is to ascertain which class or caste or party is in the majority, you must

then accept the results of that democractic system and at the moment whether you like it or not, the Congress party is in the majority in British India. Another member objected to these views saying, "Does not the Hon'ble and learned gentleman also realise that, if we do as he proposes and force a Congress Government upon India against the will of 80 million Muslims in India, we shall run a very serious risk of estranging the populations—almost exclusively of our three allies, Egypt, Iraq and Turkey"? Sir Stafford in reply admitted that there were dangers but he asked, "How does he reconcile that 80 mllion Muslims are to determine the future of India and not the far larger number of Hindus ?"

The debate proved to Mr. Jinnah that the Labour Members took India for a single nation and wanted to enforce the British system of Government to appease the Congress. Mr. Jinnah could not remain silent. He felt the need of writing a convincing article on the subject to remove misconceptions of some members of the British Parliament. In his famous article, published in the *Time and Tide* of London on 19th January, 1940, he stated Muslim point of view as follows :

"What is the political future of India ? The declared aim of the British Government is that India should enjoy Dominion Status in accordance with

the Statute of Westminster in the shortest possible time. In order that this end should be brought about, the British Government, very naturally, would like to see in India the form of democractic constitution it knows best and thinks best, under which the Government of the country is entrusted to one or other political party in accordance with the turn of the elections.

"Such, however, is the ignorance about Indian conditions among even the members of the British Parliament that, in spite of all the experience of the past, it is not even yet realised that this form of Government is totally unsuited to India. Democratic systems based on the concept of a homogeneous nation such as England are very definitely not applicable to heterogeneous countries such as India; and this simple fact is the root cause of India's all constitutional ills." Continuing, Mr. Jinnah says, "The British people must realise that Hinduism and Islam represent two distinct and separate civilisations and, moreover, are as distinct from one another in origin, traditions and manner of life as are nations of Europe. If, therefore, it is accepted that there are in India a major and a minor nations, it follows that a parliamentary system based on the majority principle must inevitably mean the rule of the major nation.

Experience has proved that whatever the economic and political programme of any political party, the Hindu, as a general rule, will vote for his caste fellow and the Muslim for his co-religionist. Western democracy is totally unsuited for India." Mr. Jinnah concluded the article with these important words: "A constitution must be evolved that recognises that there are in India two nations who both must share the governance of their common motherland."

Mr. Jinnah's views in this article found expression in the historic resolution of the Muslim League, otherwise called the Pakistan Resolution passed at Lahore Session in March 1940.

This resolution clearly laid the foundation of Pakistan. It demanded independent sovereign states for the Muslims in North-Western and North-Eastern parts of India where they were in a majority. At the same time it offered full protection to minorities whether Hindu or Muslim on a reciprocal basis. This resolution proved beyond the shadow of doubt that the Muslims had set a definite ideal before them. From the position of a minority, they had risen to the position of a nation. The Muslim League was no longer to be a communal body but a national organ of the Muslims. Mr. Jinnah was no longer the political leader

of Muslims but their uncrowned king at whose order they were prepared to lay down their lives. The Lahore Resolution brought about a revolutionary change in the outlook of Muslims. They felt that they had now a splendid goal worth fighting for.

The Hindus were loud in condemning the Lahore Resolution. They accused Mr. Jinnah as being an agent of the British Government. They criticised it in abusive language and said it threattened civil war. Mr. Jinnah in a statement appealed to the better sense of Hindus and replied to all their objections. The Hindus had frightened Muslim monorities in Hindu Provinces that they would have to migrate wholesale. Mr. Jinnah assured them that they should have no fears on this account as division of India would be effected in a peaceful manner. To the Sikhs, Mr. Jinnah held out the promise that they would be much better off in the North-Western Muslim Zone than in a United India. Replying to Mr. Rajgopalachariar's argument of dividing the baby, Mr. Jinnah said, "India is not the sole property of the Congress and if the real mother was to be discovered, it would be the Dravidians and still further the aboriginees. The Aryan claim to India is no better than that of the Musalmans except that they were earlier arrivals in point of time."

Chapter X

AUGUST OFFER AND CRIPPS' PLAN

Some months after the Lahore Resolution, came the Viceroy's August offer. The British Government then in the midst of war was feeling impatient over what it thought to be the proud and uncompromising attitude of Congress. In its efforts to appease Congrees, it had repeatedly sacrificed Muslim interests. It had failed for $2\frac{1}{2}$ years to protect Muslim minorities in Congress provinces. It had excluded Muslim members from Viceroy's Executive Council for fear of displeasing Congress. But despite all these gestures of good-will towards Congress, it could not enlist the latter's support for War. So its impatience had reached a breaking point. In a saner mood, it felt the necessity of dispelling Muslim fears in regard to its past policy. The Viceroy's August offer assured the Muslims that full weight would be given to their views in any new scheme of Government but at the same time it reminded the Congress that the new scheme of Government was primarily the concern of the Indians who should bear in mind

the peculiar conditions of their country in framing it.

The Viceroy's August offer laid down two definite principles : (1) that no new constitution would be imposed on India without the consent of minorities and (2) that the new constitution should be framed by agreement among Indians themselves.

War had now reached a critical stage. Japan had thrown her weight on the side of Hitler and had won astounding victories in the East. Her armies had overrun French Indo-China, Malaya, Indonesia and Burma and were now threatening India. It was at this critical time that the Churchill Government sent Sir Stafford Cripps to India with new proposals, termed Cripps' Offer. The proposals outlined an Indian Union of those Provinces which were willing to join, leaving others to form a separate Union or join the Indian Union. Except Defence which during the War was to be Viceroy's responsibility, the Executive Council for War period was to be formed of members of the political parties of India. The Congress smacked in the Cripps' Offer germs of Pakistan and its leaders who had been released to create a favourable atmosphere, rejected it. The Muslim League withdrew its consent as the offer did not recognise in clear

terms the Muslim demand for Pakistan. The Congress now started under the advice of Gandhi, Quit-India campaign. It was determined to wrest power from British hands by force. The resolution, passed on August 1942 at Bombay, demanded that Britain should withdraw its armies from India, leaving Government in the hands of the Indians. The Government lost no time in arresting all the Congress leaders. These arrests, however, led to serious disturbances which caused destruction of Government property including telegraph offices, railway stations etc.

The Government took stern measures to restore law and order. Mr. Jinnah gave a clear lead to the Muslims at this critical juncture. They were advised to keep aloof from a movement which was directed equally against the Muslims. It had now become the policy of the Congress to bypass the Muslims League and to leave Hindu-Muslim question for a later settlement after the attainment of independence. This clearly implied that the Congress wanted to have no deal with the Muslims and was seriously aspiring for political power to suppress Muslim voice by sheer force of numbers. It was evident that once political power had passed into the hands of the Congress, the Muslims would be quite helpless to claim their share. It was for

this reason that Muslims did not take part in the Congress Quit-India campaign and remained quiet and peaceful in response to the appeal of Mr. Jinnah. The Congress had now used the last weapon in its armoury to win the Muslims to its side. It thought that, at the mere idea that the Congress was fighting the battle of India's independence, the Muslim youth would revolt against Mr. Jinnah and join the Congress to drive out the British. But the Muslims gave a fatal blow to Congress hopes and proved to the world that the Congress represented none but the Hindus.

In his presidential address at Delhi at the annual session of the Muslim League in 1943, Mr. Jinnah justified in strong words the stand taken by him. He said, "Mr. Gandhi had been saying for the last 22 years that he lived for Hindu-Muslim unity and that it was the sole aim of his life that without Hindu-Muslim unity they could never achieve freedom, but he threw all his declarations to the winds when suddenly he laid down the policy and programme in the famous resolution of 8th August. What is it ? Quit India ? Mr. Gandhi's attitude was, "Don't care, don't care what these 100 million people of this country have to say. I am going to bend this Government to surrender to my desire." The British said to Muslims, "In

resisting the Congress, we are really protecting you and safeguarding your interests because if we were to surrender to the demands of the Congress, it would be at your risk and sacrifice." But the Musalmans say, "We don't believe that you love us so much." Continuing Mr. Jinnah said, "We know it suits them and they are taking the fullest advantage of the situation, because if there is any agreement between Hindus and Muslims, then they know the net result of that would be parting with power. They say they are too anxious to part with power, but we do not agree in uniting. If we cannot secure power under a United India, then let us take it under a divided India."

In his adddress Mr. Jinnah expressed his satisfaction that a Muslim League ministry had been formed in Bengal. He, however, expressed his deep concern over the Punjab which had not yet played the part which it was entitled to play. He concluded his address by saying, "The goal is near, stand united, persevere and march." The people raised loud and prolonged cheers and cries of Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad, Pakistan Zindabad.

CHAPTER XI

THE MUSLIM LEAGUE WINS ELECTIONS

The critical period of the War was now over. There were evident signs of victory for the Allies. India was no longer threatened from outside. Mr. Gandhi and other Congress leaders were released. Once again Gandhi-Jinnah talks were arranged at the latter's Bombay residence. Mr. Jinnah laid down two conditions for Hindu-Muslim settlement : (1) that Gandhi should concede that the Muslim League represents Muslim India and (2) that Muslims are a separate nation. Mr. Gandhi rejected both of these conditions and the talks ended in failure.

Lord Wavell, the Vicerory, set his mind on finding a solution of the political problems facing the country. He announced his proposals in September 1945 which repeated in reality the earlier Cripps' Offer with the slight difference that a representative Assembly of Indians would be summoned after the provincial elections were over. He held the famous Simla Conference. Mr. Jinnah insisted that the Muslim League should be treated on an equal

footing with the Congress and that it should have the right to nominate all the 5 Muslim members for the Viceroy's Executive Council. The Congress on the other hand refused to accept the Muslim claim for equal treatment and insisted that a Unionist Muslim from the Punjab and a Congress Muslim should also be included in the quota of the Muslim members for the Viceroy's Council. The conference finally broke down as no agreement could be reached between the Congress and the League.

It now became evident to Quaid-i-Azam that the Congress would never acknowledge the right of the Muslim League to speak for 100 millions of Indian Muslims unless the Muslim Unionists and the Nationalist Muslims threw in their lot with the Muslim League. Unfortunately, the Jamiatul Ulema, a body of Muslim Ulema of Congress leanings and a number of other Muslim organisations which in some cases existed in Congress imagination only, played into the hands of the Congress and challenged League's claim to speak for the Indian Muslims. Mr. Jinnah accepted the challenge and appealed to the Muslims to prove their loyalty to the Muslim League in the forthcoming elections for the Central and the Provincial Assemblies. In the Central Assembly, the Muslim share of seats was fixed at 30 in a house of 145. This arrangement had been unaffected since the Act of 1919.

The Muslim League contested all these seats and won all. One-fourth of the total number of seats were captured unopposed while in many cases the contests turned out to be an easy walk-over. The Hindu press was particularly interested in the Quaidi Azam's constituency from Bombay City and set afloat all sorts of rumours to back up the candidature of Mr. Hussainbahi Laljee. It was broadcast throughout India that Mr. Jinnah would have to face a tough opposition in the Bombay Constituency and Sirdar Patel spared no efforts to rally Congress forces in opposition to Quaid-i-Azam. But to the utter despair and disappointment of the Hindu press and the Congress High Command, Mr. Jinnah won by a thumping majority. Out of a total of 3,728 votes polled, Mr. Jinnah secured 3,602 and his rival candidate only 126 votes or $7^{0}/_{0}$ of the total. Mr. Laljee forfeited his security. It was a pity that a Muslim was chosen to oppose the very man who was the idol of Muslim India and stood unrivalled and unsurpassed in popularity and influence. The elections for provincial Assemblies recorded an all-round success of $88^{0}/_{0}$ in favour of the Muslim League. In Bengal and Assam, which accounted for $4^{0}/_{0}$ of the entire Muslim population of India, the results were astounding. In Bengal the League won $93^{0}/_{0}$ and in Assam, $91^{0}/_{0}$ of the Muslim seats. In

the Western Pakistan zone comprising the Punjab, Sind and Frontier Province, the League captured 80% of the Muslim seats on the whole, though the bureaucracy and the Unionists in the Punjab, the Congress Ministry in the Frontier Province and the intriguing clique of Mr. Syyed in Sind had spared no efforts and employed all possible means to defeat the League candidates. The Punjab showed a lead in securing for the Muslim League 79 out of 86 Muslim elective seats. Sind emerged as the second best, with 28 out of 35 seats won by the Muslim League. In the N.W.F. Province alone, the Muslim League failed to capture more than 45% seats and this mainly because the opposing candidates had also adopted Pakistan as their slogan. The illiterate Pathan voter whose sense of honesty had been confounded through corruption and bribery, and an over-emphasis of the dangers of British Imperialism, could not decide, in his state of mental dilemna, which side to choose when the rival parties equally claimed to represent the best interests of Muslims. As the subsequent results of general plebisicite showed, when the Pathan had realised the importance of his vote, he recorded a clear verdict in favour of Pakistan. In the Minority Provinces, the results of elections were equally marvellous, and although the League had to face

opposition from the Congress candidates in the most organised form, yet it held its own and shattered the hopes of the Congress.

When the elections were over, a clear picture of the strength of the Muslim League was visible. It held 464 out of 525 Muslim seats in all the Provincial Assemblies combined. Except in N.W.F.P., Bihar and U.P., not a single Muslim candidate could be returned on Congress ticket. It was a clear rebuff to the Congress which never missed an opportunity to assert that it represented all classes of people in India, that it could not secure more than 24 anti-League seats out of a total of 525 elective Muslim seats. When it is further realised that these seats formed 4½% of the total and that the candidates returned on Congress ticket were backed up by Jamiatul Ulema, and had at their disposal huge Congress funds, the Congress claim to represent Muslim India is entirely shattered.

While the Muslim League's astounding success in elections was acclaimed by the Muslims all over India, the Hindu press still minimised its importance. The Hindu mind was clearly revealed when a Hindu paper remarked, "Whatever Mr. Jinnah may say, the provincial elections have definitely demolished his claim for a partition of India and Hindus,

Sikhs, Christians, Parsis etc. have unequivocally declared themselves against the division of their country. These arguments were not only mischievous but fantastic. The Muslim League had never claimed the support of non-Muslims for Pakistan. All that it had asserted was that the Muslims alone had the right to determine their future in their majority Provinces and that the non-Muslims should have no say in the matter just as the Muslim minorities in Hindu majority Provinces could not exercise a veto against the union of those Provinces into Hindu India. Another malicious argument in the Hindu press was that there was no united demand among the Muslims for Pakistan, and they mentioned in support of this argument Khaksars, Ahrars, Jamiatul Ulema, Momins, the Shia Conference, the Nationalist Muslims and other elements upon whom the Congress counted for support in the elections but who had succumbed to the shattering blows of the Muslim League and could not obtain more than 4½% Muslim seats. To expose Hindu propaganda against the League and to give a clear verdict of Muslim India on its demand for Pakistan, Mr. Jinnah summoned at Delhi, in April 1946, an All-India Muslim League convention. It

was attended by 450 Muslim elected members of the Provincial Assemblies and 3,500 delegates from all over India. Mr. Jinnah, in his opening speech at the Conference, declared that the Muslims stood united in their demand for Pakistan and that they would accept no constitution which was imposed upon them against their consent and in utter disregard of their interests.

CHAPTER XII

THE CABINET MISSION.

The British Government had been dangling the idea of Dominion Self-Government before the Indians since the outbreak of War in 1939, but it had failed to give a concrete proof of its sincerity. Its attitude had been that unless the Congress was prepared to extend its hand of co-operation, the Muslim League should not be given any share in political power. Its sole efforts lay in trying to appease the Congress. The Congress on its side was keeping up an outward appearance by demanding full independence but in reality it wanted power on its own terms in utter disregard of Muslim interests. The British Government thus could not take a clear and decisive decision, one way or the other. Quaid-i-Azam wanted it to make up its mind. Like a clever lawyer, he was steadily building up his case and trying to convince the Government that in partition alone lay the final solution of India's difficulties.

The World War II came to an end in 1945. The Allies had won. Germany and Japan had

been utterly defeated. In Britian, the Labour Government had come into power. The Congress had many friends among members of the British Labour Party. Unrest was daily growing in India. It was hoped that the Labour Government would pay serious attention to this growing unrest. The hope was fulfilled when the Labour Government made up its mind to decide India's question. It appointed a Commission of three members of the British Cabinet. This Commission, known as the Cabinet Mission, came to India in May 1946 to find a solution of India's political problems, agreeable to all parties. It had two objects in view; firstly, to form the Viceroy's Executive Council enjoying the support of all parties and, secondly, to discover some scheme of Government for the future which should enable India to achieve its goal of independence. The Mission held a conference at Simla and invited representatives of the two principal parties to sit together and arrive at some agreement. The Congress still did not give up its claim that it represented all classes of the people of India. To deceive the Cabinet Mission and to provoke Muslim opinion, the Congress included among its representatives two Nationalist Muslims, Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad and Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the so-called Frontier Gandhi. After some

days' discussion, this conference ended in failure. Mr. Jinnah demanded equal share for the Muslim League with the Congress in the Viceroy's Executive Council and also the recognition of Pakistan as their goal. The Congress, on the other hand, denied the Muslim claim for parity and asserted its right to frame the future constitution of India on its own terms. The Mission frankly admitted that the main issue upon which it did its utmost to assist the two main political parties to reach an agreement, was the unity or division of India. Failing in its object, the Cabinet Mission offered its own proposals in the form of a plan for a long-term settlement. Under this plan, was there to be a Union of India including British India and States which should deal with the three subjects: Foreign Affairs, Defence, Communications and should also have the power to raise finances as far as was necessary for these subjects. The Provinces were to join one or the other of the three Groups proposed for them. The North-Western Muslim Provinces could form B Group; Bengal and Assam, C Group and the Hindu majority provinces, A Group, the biggest of all. The Union could not increase the number of subjects without the majority vote of Muslim and Hindu members taken separately. When the proposals became officially known, the

Hindu press was in a happy mood while there was a feeling of disappointment among the Muslims. Mr. Jinnah refused to comment on the proposals until he had carefully studied them and the entire Muslim press observed silence. Mr. Jinnah called a meeting of League Council and gave his opinion thus, "I asked you to reject the Cripps' Offer and then I asked you to turn down the Wavell Plan. Now I ask you to accept the Cabinet Plan. This was a very bold and wise step." Mr. Jinnah had already got assurances from the Viceroy regarding the compulsory grouping of Provinces and the formation of the Executive Council on the basis of equality between Congress and League. The Mission had given a definite pledge that it would proceed with the formation of an Interim Government with the co-operation of those who were willing to accept the Cabinet Mission Plan. The Congress after waiting for the League's decision gave its consent to the Cabinet Mission Plan but disapproved the Interim Government formula. Mr. Jinnah reminded the Viceroy that he should go ahead with the Interim Government Plan and form his Council with the cooperation of the League. As was to be expected from a Government with its mind set on the appeasement of the Congress, the Viceroy held the whole scheme in

abeyance and gave a rude shock to Mr. Jinnah who in a strong speech regretted the inconsistent attitude of the Cabinet Mission saying, "Statesmen should not eat their words."

The Cabinet Mission failed in its object. It only succeeded in widening the rift between the Congress and the League and confirming Muslim fears regarding the policy of the Labour Government. The League Council in a formal resolution withdrew acceptance of the Cabinet Mission Plan. There were doubts in the minds of Muslims that the Labour Government might stoop to anything in its desire to appease the Congress. That a soldier Statesman like Lord Wavell should forswear his pledged word, clearly showed the underhand influence that was at work in the Government of India. Mr. Jinnah in his opening speech at the Bombay session of the Muslim League exposed in strong words the tactics of the Congress leaders and the Cabinet Delegation during its 3½ months' stay in India. Mr. Jinnah said that the Mission knew from the very start that the Congress was unbending in its attitude and would not favour any scheme which would go against its wishes. The Mission, however, wanted to show the Parliament some result of its labours and so it kept up the whole

show. This is how Mr. Jinnah described the whole story.

"Early in the morning of June 25, the indefatigable Sir Stafford Cripps went and woke up Mr. Gandhi in the Bhangi Colony. It seems he did not cut much ice. He came back, and Lord Pathick-Lawrence was put on the scent of Mr. Vallabhai Patel, the strong man of the Congress. He waylaid Mr. Patel on the road and took him to his residence and there they concocted a device. The Congress was persuaded to accept the long-term proposals, even with their own interpretations and reservations, and the Mission assured the Congress that it would abandon the Interim Government Scheme of June 16." This was, as the Muslim League President said, "a grave charge against the honour, integrity and character of the members of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy." The three British Ministers sent for Mr. Jinnah the same evening and told him that, while the Congress had rejected the interim proposals, it had accepted the long-term plan. Subsequent events confirmed Mr. Jinnah's story. The Congress had not accepted even the long-term plan. Maulana Azad had written to the Cabinet Mission that the Congress would interpret in its own way

the compulsory grouping of Provinces and the the limitations set on the Union to three subjects while the new Congress President, Pandit Nehru said in plain words that the Congress was committed to nothing beyond going into the Constituent Assembly to frame a constitution for free India.

CHAPTER XIII

DIRECT ACTION THREAT

Muslim India was in a state of disappointment. The British Government had disillusioned the Muslims. The Congress was gaining its favour. Their friends in the Labour Party were at its back. The Muslim League was forced to pass a resolution calling for Direct Action. Mr. Jinnah said, "This day we bid good-bye to constitutional methods." Explaining the League decision, he said, "It was not a declaration of war but a measure for self-defence." Mr. Jinnah appealed to all Muslims to forego the titles conferred upon them by a foreign Government. The response was immediate and universal. The Muslims renounced their titles one by one. It was a great moral victory for the League and it proved the loyalty of the Muslims to their great Leader. The Congress and the British Government alike stood amazed at the change in Muslim mind.

Direct Action Day was observed all over India on 16th August, 1946. The Muslims on this day stopped all work, arranged processions and held

public meetings. Pledges were signed, reaffirming their faith in Pakistan and the leadership of Mr. Jinnah.

At Calcutta, a peaceful procession of the Muslims was attacked by the Hindu hooligans. This led to communal clashes all over the city. As the Muslims were taken unawares, they suffered heavily. Whole Muslim localities were wiped out and it seemed that the whole tragedy had been planned. Though the Muslims were the greatest sufferers, yet the League was blamed for the whole trouble. More surprises and disappointments were in store for the Muslims. The British Government, unmindful of its pledges and assurances to the Muslims, invited Pandit Nshru to form the Central Government. The Muslim League was ignored and bypassed. On 2nd September, the Congress assumed reigns of the Government. This was an occasion for rejoicing in all Hindu homes but it cast a gloom on the hearts of the Muslims. The new Government was hailed by the Hindu press as the National Government although it excluded the Muslim League. The Hindus now felt that Hindu Raj was established and, in their arrogance, they forgot that India was the home of Muslims as well. The advent of

the Congress Raj was followed by communal riots in the Hindu majority Provinces. The creed of non-violence was thrown to the winds and a war of extermination was started against the Muslims. The Bihar Muslims were the first to suffer. Fifty thousand of them were killed or burnt alive. Even Mr. Churchill had to say, "Bihar has put into the shade the Armenian atrocities with which once Gladstone stirred the moral sense of liberal opinion. After Bihar, came the turn of the Muslims in Bombay, C.P. and Berar. There were mass killings of the Muslims in Bombay city, followed by attacks on Muslims in general in all parts of the Province. In sheer desperation, the Muslims began to flee to Hyderabad State to take shelter and save their life and honour.

To add fuel to the fire, the Congress Ministers set to work with a set plan to suppress the Muslim voice, and to arm the Hindus. The Muslim press was gagged in all the Congress Provinces. Restrictions were placed on freedom of speech and meeting. Special Goonda Acts were passed with the sole object of indicting the Muslims as a community and arresting any Muslim under the slightest pretext. The Urdu-Hindi controversy was revived and the Congress Ministers in their official capacity presided our conferences and meetings

to propagate Hindi and discourage Urdu. In Madras and Bihar, Congress attempted to pass new legislation which should ban the use of Urdu as a medium of instruction in schools and restrict its field to a few areas and districts. The walkouts, staged by the Muslim League members as a protest against discriminatory legislation, were unheeded. Other measures were rushed through which were intended to arm the Hindus and at the same time to leave the Muslims unprotected and unarmed. In Bihar, all licences for arms held by Muslim landlords, were cancelled while the Congress National Guards and volunteers were issued licences to carry arms and to organise themselves on a military basis.

The Muslim League could not remain a silent spectator of the communal war let loose under the Congress Raj. To remove the impression from people's mind that the British had surrendered all power to Hindus and to restore Muslim confidence, the League decided to enter the Interim Government and nominate members for the 5 vacant seats in the Viceroy's Executive Council. The step was welcomed by Muslims who heaved a sigh of relief. The dream of Hindu Raj received a set-back. The Muslim masses became hopeful that all was not lost for them. Differences now arose between

the Congress and the League in regard to the summoning of a Constituent Assembly under the Cabinet Mission Plan. The British Government invited Mr. Jinnah and Pandit Nehru and other political leaders to London Conference. The idea was to remove misunderstanding regarding some clauses in the Plan which were open to different interpretations by the two political parties. Pandit Nehru was not prepared to reopen discussion on the Plan as the Congress wanted to enforce it on its own terms. Mr. Jinnah wanted the entire Plan to be re-examined in the light of recent political developments in India, as the Muslim League had withdrawn its consent. There was thus a deadlock and the Conference could not reach any decision.

The British Premier, on December 6, in his statement accepted the League's view-point in regard to compulsory grouping of Provinces and also laid emphasis that the new constitution should be based on the agreement of the two communities. This statement dealt a shattering blow to the powers and functions of a Constituent Assembly which would be dominated by one party.

In February 1947, Mr. Attlee, the British Premier, gave the warning that if Indians failed to

work out the Cabinet Plan on an agreed basis before the end of June, 1948, "His Majesty's Government will have to consider to whom the powers of Central Government in British India should be handed over on the due date, whether as a whole to some form of Government for British India or in some areas to the existing Provincial Governments, or in such other way as may seem most reasonable and in the best interests of Indian people." This warning definitely held out the the possibility of partition, if no agreement in regard to a common constitution was reached in India. The warning was in greater part meant for the Congress than for the League.

The Congress, however, now changed its tactics. It wanted to create the impression that it was reasonable in its attitude. It now accepted the Cabinet Plan according the interpretation of the British Government, but demanded as a price for this concession, recognition of the Interim Government as a dominion Government with Viceroy as its constitutional head. It further demanded that the Central Government should function as a Cabinet with full authority and responsibility. At the same time it called for division of the Punjab into two parts so as to

separate the perdominant non-Muslim parts from it. This attitude of the Congress exasperated Muslim feelings. There was now no course open for the Muslims but to make a clear-cut demand for Pakistan and refuse all consideration of Cabinet Plan which had caused so much mischief and trouble.

Lord Wavell had now left India. The new Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, an Admiral of the British Navy and a close relative of His Majesty the King, was determined to complete arrangements for the transfer of political power into Indian hands before June 1948. In his first public speech in April 1947, he avoided making reference to differences between the points of view of the Congress and the League, but he hinted that "a solution must be reached within the next few months."

Once again the Congress changed its tactics. Topmost Congress leaders were now prepared to refer the Pakistan issue to arbitration by a 3rd party. Mr. Gandhi said he did not understand what Pakistan meant, but by mutual consent they could get the whole of India. At the same time the Congress leaders were inciting the Sikhs and the Bengal Hindus to resist the inclusion of their Provinces within Pakistan zones. Sind and Bengal

were then under Muslim League Governments and the Congress knew that the terms of Mr. Attlee's statement of February 20 could not force these provinces to join a United India Government. Quaid-i-Azam had met the Viceroy a number of times and finally succeeded in his efforts to persuade the new Viceroy that the only right solution for India lay in the division of this subcontinent into Hindustan and Pakistan. It was now becoming evident from the trend of opinion in the British press that Pakistan in some form or other would be established.

Earlier Muslims had started mass civil disobedience movements in N.W.F.P., Assam and the Punjab against their unrepresentative Governments. They were courting arrests in a peaceful manner for the restoration of their civil rights and were holding peaceful demonstrations for the dismissal of their corrupt and inefficient ministries. As a counter move against the Muslims of these Provinces, the Congress now began to threaten Muslims with the partition of the Punjab and Bengal and Pandit Nehru openly said that if the Muslim League wanted to have Pakistan, the Congress would not stand in its way. Obviously, this Congress leader had in his mind the idea of imposing Pakistan with a vengeance.

CHAPTER XIV

PAKISTAN ESTABLISHED

On 3rd June 1947 came the much expected announcement from the British Government. India was divided into two parts. Districts with a majority of Muslim population were grouped together to form Pakistan. The Muslim demand for Pakistan was finally conceded and the dream of Hindu Raj vanished once for all. Quaid-i-Azam summoned a special meeting of the All-India Muslim League Council at Delhi on 10th June, and the British Government plan was accepted. It was, however, much resented that some important districts of the Punjab and Bengal had been separated from Pakistan, and it was hoped that justice would be done to Muslims when the boundaries of the two new States would be readjusted. A British Barrister, Radcliffe was accepted as arbitrator by both Pakistan and India to give his final decision on the boundary question. He was assisted by a Pakistani and an Indian member. This small Commission of 3 members with Radcliffe as Chairman was to demarcate boundaries between Eastern and Western parts of the Punjab and Ben-

gal. The Muslims pleaded their case very strongly for the inclusion of those districts of East Punjab and West Bengal in Pakistan which were adjoined to Pakistan, and where Muslims held a strong position. But to their utter disappointment, the award fell short of their expectations. Important contiguous areas with Muslim majorities in population were separated from the Punjab and Bengal. There could be no greater tragedy for Muslims. The greater part of Gurdaspur district with its hydro-electric works, and the flourishing iron works at Batala and woollen mills at Dhariwal was made over to India. The Muslim majotity of 51% in population was left to their fate. It was Gurdaspur which gave access to India towards Kashmir and paved the way for India's war of aggression against Kashmir Muslims. In Bengal, the Muslim majority district of Murshidabad and parts of some other districts with a total population of 3 million was separated from Muslim Bengal. The inclusion of Khulna district in Bengal was in no way a full compensation for the loss thus suffered by the Bengal Muslims.

Quaid-i-Azam expressed strong indignation at "this parting kick of the Britishers." He had

relied on British good faith but was grievously shocked by Radcliffe's decision.

On 15th August 1947 came into existence the new dominion of Pakistan, a self-governing state of British Commonwealth and Quaid-i-Azam became its first Governor-General. Unfortunately more troubles were in store for the new State. The Sikhs and the Hindus had started a war of extirpation against the Muslims in East Punjab. Thousands of Muslims were mercilessly butchered. More than 6 million Muslims became homeless and had to seek shelter in Pakistan to save their lives. The refugees had to face untold hardships in their long and tiresome journeys, undertaken mostly on foot and without any conveyance arrangements. They ran short of supplies of food which Pakistan Government tried its best to provide for them. It was no child's play to provide homes and means of livelihood for millions of Muslims who had lost everything.

The Hindus and the Sikhs of Western Punjab had also to suffer tremendous losses but not so much in life as in property. The atrocities committed on the Hindus and the Sikhs in Western Punjab pale into insignificance when compared with those suffered by the Muslims in Eastern Punjab. The Muslim outburst of

indignation against the Hindus and the Sikhs was the direct result of the wholesale massacres of the Muslims in East Punjab. The Muslims were being massacred or driven out under a well-laid plan. The Hindu and Sikh States of Eastern Punjab had secretly lent arms and guns and the services of their soldiers to shoot Muslims everywhere. At this time, the Muslim armies were mostly stationed out of India or in some of its remote parts ; hence no immediate help was possible. Pakistan was not yet in a position to provide strong escorts for the safe passage of millions of Muslims who had been forced to leave their homes. For more than six months, the refugee exodus continued from East Punjab until not a single Muslim was left to claim citizenship of India in East Punjab. The most shameful act of the whole drama was the forcible abduction of thousands of Muslim women. In spite of strenuous efforts made by our Government to claim back every abducted woman, thousands have remained untraceable up to this day.

Quaid-i-Azam as Governor-General set his mind to organise administration, to restore peace and order, and to rehabilitate millions of refugees now scattered over different parts of the Punjab. By stupendous efforts, he created order out of

chaos, and restored normal conditions. Under his inspiring example, refugees were provided with every possible comfort. In cities, villages and Government camps, everywhere the refugees were given home and shelter. Those who were destitutes or were unsettled for the time being, were provided meals at Government expense. The Central and the Provincial Governments spent immense sums of money on clothing and feeding the refugees. The Punjab played a leading part in this respect as it had to accommodate and absorb almost the entire Muslim population of Eastern Punjab. Next to Punjab, Sind and Karachi provided shelter to refugees from different parts of India.

The Frontier Province had been a source of trouble for long. The Pathans had fallen under the influence of the Khan Brothers who wanted to throw in the lot of their Province with Hindu India. The new elections after the establishment of Pakistan threw Khan Brothers out of power and the Frontier people recorded their verdict in favour of Pakistan by an overwhelming majority. It was a great victory for Pakistan that the Frontier Province became once for all an integral part of the Pakistan. It was now fully established that the Pathans, the Punjabis, the Baluchis, the Sindhis and the Bengalese were all united as citizens of the

new Islamic State and were determined to prove to the world that Islam recognised no geographical barriers or differen cesof caste and colour.

Quaid-i-Azam's task was not yet over. He had no doubt laid the foundation of the biggest Muslim State in the world but he had to work day and night to establish the new State on a sound footing. It was an untiring and up hill task. Quaid-i-Azam had to exercise personal supervision over the activities of all Government departments; he had to guide and control foreign policy; restore internal order and peace. Defence claimed his greatest attention as Pakistan's armies were ill-equipped and ill-organised. India did not observe faithfully the terms of the various agreements regarding distribution of existing arms and armaments, railway engines and wagons, and other kinds of Government property. Pakistan got as its share, material of very poor quality and in many cases unserviceable. With determination and zeal, Quaid-i-Azam overcame all difficulties. The refugee problem was an eyesore. India continued to harass Pakistan by driving out more and more Muslims from their homes. There is yet no knowing how long India will persist in this policy. It is to the credit of Quaid-i-Azam that he

laid down broad principles on which refugees were to be rehabilitated. He forced Sind and the the Frontier Provinces to play their part along with the Punjab in the resettlement of refugees. The pressure of work told upon Quaid-i-Azam's health. He was advised by doctors to take rest but he stuck on to his duty up to the last. The Kashmir affair gave him the greatest shock in his life. The invasion of Kashmir by Indian armies was an act of wanton aggression ; India had no right to claim a country which was predominantly Muslim. Quaid-i-Azam protested in vain against India's attitude. He wanted a peaceful solution of the problem but the delay in the settlement of Kashmir issue strained his nerves and almost unbalanced his mind. It was in this agony of mind that he sought for a little rest at Ziarat, a health resort near Quetta. It was too late. There was no longer any hope of recovery. Death was feared any moment. Conscious of this fact, Quaid-i-Azam expressed his desire to return to Karachi.

September 11, was the most tragic day in the history of Pakistan. All were stunned with the news that Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah had breathed his last at 10-30 P.M. on

Saturday. Disappointment, grief and sorrow filled all hearts. The shock was unbearable. The nation had suffered an irreparable loss and needed the guidance of its master for at least ten years more. There was universal mourning. A wave of sorrow spread throughout the Muslim World. Prayers were offered for the departed soul in every town and hamlet and messages of condolence poured in from every corner of the world.

Quaid-i-Azam's body was laid to rest at Karachi where half a million people attended the funeral prayer. The Government officially observed mourning for 40 days and the entire country remained in a state of mourning during this period. Miss Fatima Jinnah, called by the nation Khatoon-i-Pakistan, the beloved sister of Quaid-i-Azam, expressed her thanks to the nation for expressing their sympathies with her in her bereavement. The nation found in her a living embodiment of her brother and it is a great consolation to Pakistanis that they can yet find inspiration and hope in their life under her guidance.

EXERCISES ON THE TEXT

I. Frame sentences using the following :—

(*a*) Part from, indulge in, accustomed to, in store for, rise to position, to make one's mark, to back up, to pay tribute, contribute to, prevail upon, to settle differences, to hold aloof. (Chapters I to III)

(*b*) on a lasting basis, to devise a scheme, wide of the mark, to win laurels, to throw in their lot, to come to a standstill, on the basis of, to evade the question, secede from, to close up ranks, to carry the day, to come to terms. (Chapters IV to VII)

(*c*) regained lost position, swept the polls, to dispel fears, laid down, to withdraw consent, aspire for, to command respect, to clarify aims, on the eve of, in response to, impose on, to bear in mind. (Chapters VIII to X)

(*d*) set his mind on, set afloat, to keep up appearances, to hold in abeyance, confer upon, to throw to the winds, pales into insignificance, strained his nerves, on a sound footing, persist in, to fall under the influence, to cast a gloom. (Chapters XI to XIV)

II. Translate into Urdu :—

1. The experience gained by young Jinnah as an actor on the British stage made him a powerful speaker and debater. (Chapter I)
2. Mr. Jinnah found an opportunity to associate himself with the public in England. (Chapter I)
3. He soon felt that Karachi was too small a place for his talents. (Chapter II)

4. He set out to conquer the world equipped with nothing but his youth, his courage and his ambition. (Chapter II)
5. He relied too much on Congress good-will and had full faith in the profession of its leaders. (Chapter III)
6. It was no small compliment to Mr. Jinnah's social activities as well as his mental qualities, that he was chosen to be the spokesman of India before the British Parliament and public. (Chapter III)
7. They fully agreed that they could not achieve their object without making a united front. (Chapter IV)
8. The reproach of separation sometimes levelled at the Musalmans is singularly inept and wide of the mark. (Chapter IV)
9. The Reforms Act of 1919 was meant to pacify public opinion, but it failed in its purpose and was rejected by all parties. (Chapter V)
10. The upper class Hindus who dominate the Hindu masses at present, are generally a well-to-do class, and democracy is a cloak for them to retain their privileged position. (Chapter VI)
11. His ambition at this time was to settle down in England and to fight for India's rights, if possible by seeking election as member of Paliament. (Chapter VII)
12. Though his past experience had been very disappointing, he never gave up the hope that one day Congress would intervene to do justice to the Muslims. (Chapter IX)
13. Mr. Jinnah gave a clear lead to the Muslims at this critical juncture. (Chapter X)
14. Congress had now used the last weapon in its armoury to win the Muslims to its side. (Chapter X)

15. Lord Wavell, the Viceroy, set his mind in finding a solution of the political problems facing the country. (Chapter XI)
16. Failing in its object, the Cabinet Mission offered its own proposals in the form of a plan for the long-term settlement. (Chapters XII)
17. The Muslim League could not remain a silent spectator of the communal war let loose under Congress Raj. (Chapter XIII)
18. It was Gurdaspur which gave access to India towards Kashmir and paved the way for India's war of aggression against the Kashmir Muslims. (Chapter XIV)

IV. Answer the following questions :—

1. Describe young Jinnah's literary and political activities in England. (Chapter I)
2. Describe an incident from Mr. Jinnah's life to prove his nobility of heart and generous-mindedness. (Chapters II)
3. Why was Mr. Jinnah at first suspicious of the Muslim League ? What led him to enlist himself as its member ? (Chapter III)
4. How did Mr. Jinnah defend the position of the Muslim League as a separate body from the Congress ' (Chapter IV)
5. What part was played bv Mr. Jinnah in the agitation for Home Rule ? (Chapter IV)
6. Describe the Non-Co-operation Movement and what were its three most destructive results for the Muslims ? (Chapter V)
7. Describe the famous Fourteen Points of Mr. Jinnah. (Chapter VI)
8. Reproduce the passage from Sir Muhammad Iqbal's Presidential address at Allahabad which gave birth to the idea of Pakistan (Chapter VII)

9. Describe why Mr. Jinnah failed in his efforts to bring about Hindu-Muslim unity. (Chapter VIII)

10. Why is the Lucknow session of Muslim League hailed as a personal triumph for Mr. Jinnah? (Chapter IX)

11. Why did the Muslims observe Deliverance Day ?

12. What is meant by the Lahore Resolution? (Chapter IX)

13. How did Mr. Jinnah justify the stand taken by him against "Congress Quit-India Campaign? (Chapter X)

14. What conditions were laid down by Mr. Jinnah for Hindu-Muslim settlement? (Chapter XI)

15. What were the main objects before the Cabinet Mission? Why did it fail in its efforts? (Chapter XII)

16. Why was Direct Action Day observed by the Muslims? (Chapter XIII)

17. What is meant by Radcliffe Award? Why was it resented by the Muslims? (Chapter XIV)

18. What difficulties the new State of Pakistan had to face at the time of its establishment? How did Quaid-i-Azam overcome them? (Chapter XIV)